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CONTENTS

Articles

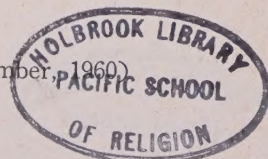
- 1 ... The Origin of the Social Status of Protestantism
in Japan (1859—1918) Fujio Ikado
- 30 ... Rissho Kosei Kai Jokai Kamomiya
- 39 ... Konko-kyo: A Religion of Meditation ... Delwin Schneider
- 55 ... A Visit to the Soka Gakkai Headquarters ... Noah Brannen
- 63 ... Religion and Modern Life II (cont'd) Yoshiro Tamura
—A Report of Three Round Table Conferences (3)—

Reviews

- 77 ... Religious Studies in Japan (2) Richard Bush
- 81 ... 1961 Bukkyo Dai Nenkan (1961 Buddhist Year Book)
- 82 ... History of Christianity in Japan 1859—1908
- 82 ... City Life in Japan: Life in a Tokyo Ward

Religious World in Japan

- 85 ... Is Shrine Shinto a Religion?
- 93 ... Religious Chronology (October—December, 1960)



All Japanese names in CONTEMPORARY RELIGIONS IN JAPAN follow the Japanese English-language press and the traditional Western usage in placing the personal names first.

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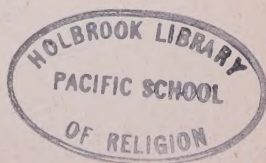
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THE ORIGIN OF THE SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN (1859—1918)



By Fujio Ikado

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

Protestantism : an Urban Movement

The Protestant Christian movement in Japan is a middle class, urban movement. This is a matter of common knowledge that needs no scientific corroboration, but for those who want more information than is given in this essay there are a number of careful studies by competent scholars, both Japanese and foreign. Dr. Arimichi Ebizawa,^a for example, in *A Socio-historical Study of Modern Japanese Religions* states that

Although the church has attempted to penetrate rural districts, a major factor hindering the growth of Protestantism has been that it does not spread beyond the bourgeois class in urban districts.*

By “bourgeois” or “middle class” present day scholars mean the white-collar class which stands between the rich ruling

a. 海老沢有道

* Ebisawa, Arimichi, *Gendai Nihon Shūkyō no Shiteki Kenkyū*. 現代日本宗教の史的研究 (*A Socio-historical Study of Modern Japanese Religions*.) (Tokyo: Natsume Press 夏目書房 1952), p. 110

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

class and the poor laboring class.*

The urban character of Protestantism is not a new phenomenon. Dr. Albertus Pieters, a former missionary of the Reformed Church of America, writing in 1909 regarding the church membership of his day, stated that

The Protestant movement in Japan is to some extent a class movement. Almost untouched as yet are the artisan, merchant and farming classes, comprising nine-tenths of the people.†

That was a half-century ago. Even then a larger percentage of the church membership was already coming from the rising white-collar class than from the middle class as a whole, which generally was considered to include the wealthy farming class and the so-called rural intellectual class, as well as the white-collar class in the towns and cities.

* Professor Ebisawa defines the urban character of Japanese Protestantism by the expression *Toshi Shoshimin Kaisō*, 都市諸市民階層, which obviously means "the white-collar class in urban areas." However, it is still very difficult to define the meaning of both the middle class and the white-collar class. According to recent research, the members of the so-called middle class, first, belong to the category of the educated; in other words, they are school graduates at least educated at middle school level. Second, their average income is more than fifty dollars a month (in 1956), roughly estimated, while the average income of 87 per cent of the total population is less than fifty dollars. (Sakamoto, "Income System of Japanese Employment," *Chūō Kōron*, No. 11, LXX (November, 1955), p. 103.) This is an extremely simplified sketch, and the population of the middle class in postwar Japan is said to be about 10 per cent of the total population. However, it is a well known fact that some professional people, such as teachers and office clerks, rank very low in the income scale. Therefore, some scholars insist that the percentage of the middle class in the total population must be higher than 10 per cent, judging from the total number of graduates of institutions of higher education.

† Pieters, Albertus, *Mission Problems in Japan, Theoretical and Practical*. (New York: The Board of Publications, Reformed Church in America, 1912), p. 120. See also pp. 144—147.

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

Dr. Pieters' findings regarding the urban character of Christianity in that period are supported by one of his contemporaries, Dr. A. K. Faust, of the German Reformed Mission, who concluded from his studies which covered both Catholic and Protestant churches that, while Japanese Christians were to be found all over the country, there was a very noticeable disproportion in their geographical distribution. According to Dr. Faust, the prefecture that had the most Christians was Nagasaki,^a which had 33,819 (mostly Catholic). Tokyo city stood next with 28,119, and Hokkaido^b followed with 7,105. Then came Ōsaka,^c with 6,781, followed by Kanagawa^d with 5,377, and Miyagi^e stood sixth with 5,143. Fukui,^f a stronghold of Shin Buddhism, had less than two hundred converts.*

This distribution of Christianity, which appears to have become somewhat fixed about the turn of the century, may be accounted for in part by two very significant developments in the social and economic fields. These were (1) a marked decrease in the expansion of Japan's rural and a corresponding increase in the urban population between the years 1893 and 1925, and (2) a tripling of the national income during the period from 1900 to 1920, the increase being almost entirely due to the development of urban industry, which brought about a rapid increase of the salaried class.† This was the period of the rapid rise of modern industry and city culture, and it was a period of stability for the Christian forces. Church leaders appear to

a. 長崎 b. 北海道 c. 大阪 d. 神奈川 e. 宮城 f. 福井

* Faust, Allen K. *Christianity as a Social Factor in Modern Japan*. (Lancaster, Pa: Steinman and Foltz, 1909), p. 72.

† *Jiji Nenkan* (Yearbook) 時事年鑑, (Tokyo: Jiji Tsūshin Sha 時事通信社, 1956), p. 924

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

have been very pleased with the surprising increase of church members which occurred in that period.

The general phenomenon of urbanization was also evident in the occupational distribution of church membership. A survey* by the Church of Christ in Japan (Nihon Kirisuto Kyōkai),^a the pre-World War II union of churches of the Presbyterian and Reformed tradition, made a quarter of a century after Dr. Pieters' study indicated that the urban-centric character of the church remained relatively unchanged. For example, in 1933 the ratio of Christians to the farming population was 1 to 55,000, but for clerks, teachers and civil servants it was 1 to 2,000. These and other details may be noted in the following table :

Table I*

RATIO OF CHRISTIANS WORKERS AND THE TOTAL NUMBER OF JAPANESE WORKERS, 1933.

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Workers</i>	<i>Christians among the workers</i>	<i>Ratio</i>
Agriculture	27,000,000	494	1/55,000
Business	7,470,000	614	1/12,000
Factory laborers	4,550,000	106	1/43,000
Hand-work	3,790,000	85	1/45,000
Fishing	1,500,000	29	1/52,000
Civil servants	970,000	415	1/ 2,000
Teachers	570,000	297	1/ 2,000
Medical establishments			
	470,000	299	1/ 1,600
Military officers	300,000	45	1/ 6,700
Office clerks	900,000	450	1/ 2,000

a. 日本基督教会

* The Church of Christ in Japan, (ed.) *Tōzan-sō Kōen Shū*. 東山莊講演集 (*The Collected Addresses of the Tōzan-sō Conference*) (Tokyo: YMCA Press, 1933), p. 184.

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

In other words, about a decade before the outbreak of the Pacific phase of World War II, the majority of Protestant church members still was composed of civil servants, teachers, doctors, and clerks, that is, the white-collar class.

Moreover, twenty years later in the period following World War II no significant change had taken place. According to an investigation of the membership of 150 Tokyo Protestant churches made in 1952, students studying in institutions above the high school level constituted 40 percent of the total church membership. The artisans, farmers, and the relatively poor, which comprised about 60 percent of the total population, were almost totally untouched either by missionaries or Japanese Christian workers, and thus few were on the church rolls. Even in the rural churches, which were arbitrarily selected for purposes of comparison, the social structure of the membership was almost the same as that of big city churches. A clear majority of the members in these churches was in the educated, intellectual, white-collar class, or in the student class, that is, candidates for the white-collar class.*

In comparison with some of the powerful sects of Shinto and Buddhism, Christianity has obviously stood out as a religion for a relatively well-off class. The major Shinto sects came into being in order to fulfill the religious thirst of the poor class which had had no contact with the higher education of Western learning. According to a series of studies on the folk religions done by Mr. Hiroo Takagi^a of Tokyo University, the

a. 高木宏夫 (Mr. Takagi is currently teaching at Tōyō University. Ed.)

* Kishimoto, Hideo 岸本英夫 (ed.) *Japanese Religion in the Meiji Era*. Trans. by John Howes. (Tokyo: Ōbun Sha 欧文社, 1956) p. 313, and pp. 327—30.

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

two outstanding characteristics of these sects are that their main following has come from among the rural and the urban poor and that they are very similar to primitive folk beliefs. Traditionally they are rather of a rural nature. Moreover, the same can be said about socially active Buddhism. Except in some cases, such as the Zen sects, the majority of Buddhists come from the relatively lower classes of local villages and from the congested areas of cities.*

Protestantism in Japan, however, is said to be less rural than in any other Asiatic country, and, as it has become more and more urban, it has become increasingly difficult for the church to penetrate rural regions. This was due to certain well-known sociological factors. In a geographical study made in 1953 the favorable and unfavorable factors for the development of Christianity were outlined as follows:

The districts which have been unreceptive to Christianity are:

- 1) remote places such as the northern part of Hokkaidō and Hida^a;
- 2) places characterized by seasonal labor, which have a higher rate of mobility so that few can stay in church even for a season;
- 3) places where the traditional suspicion of Christianity by native religions such as Buddhism and Shintoism is widespread, that is, Wakayama^b, Nara^c, Toyama^d, etc.; and 4) places like southern Kyūshū^e where the transportation system is not complete.

The districts favorable to Christianity are: 1) political and commercial centers, although they have been relatively unreceptive to religions, such as southern Hokkaido; 2) transportation centers, and political and commercial centers such as Sendai^f, Tokyo, Yokohama^g, Ōsaka, Kōbe^h, Hiroshimaⁱ; and 3) places which have a long Christian tradition like Nagasaki and Yamaguchi^j.*

a. 飛田 b. 和歌山 c. 奈良 d. 富山 e. 九州 f. 仙台 g. 横浜 h. 神戸
i. 広島 j. 山口

* UNESCO Social Tension Survey: The Section on Religion, Report No. 2, "On Socio-psychological Tension Among Buddhist Groups." (Reported in Tokyo Conference for the Study of Social Tension among Japanese Social Groups in 1953). These reports are in the custody of the Science Council of Japan (Gakujutsu Kaigi Jimukyoku) 学術会議事務局.

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

Sociologically speaking, urban districts may be characterized as (1) centers of national or local transportation systems through which new fashions easily spread, (2) heterogeneous societies with relatively large, dense settlements of white-collar workers, and (3) districts where there are well-established educational systems and a deeply rooted intellectual class which has been charmed by Western culture.* Such districts provide a favorable environment for Christianity, which is a newly introduced religion; and it would appear that these factors account in large measure for the urban character of Christianity.

However, this data can be interpreted in a different manner. The concentration of the Christian population in urban areas very likely stemmed also from official restrictions placed on the missionaries when they came to this country. Of necessity early evangelistic activities were confined entirely to the cities where the foreign missionary was obliged to live, and it was in this period that the urban, intellectual aspect of Protestantism developed. Its middle class character became accentuated because of the social and educational background of the former samurai, that is, the new middle class, which was most responsive to the Christian message. Protestants were the backbone of the liberal forces arrayed against the nationalistic policy of the government. The early Protestants were always ready with criticism of every mistake the government made. It was the samurai spirit which was the main source of the spirit of criti-

* Kobayashi, Tsutomu 小林勤, "Shūkyō Bumpu no Jinmon Chirigakuteki Kenkyū" 宗教分布の人文地理学的研究 (A Geographical Study of the Distribution of Religious Forces in Japan) in *Chiri to Rekishi* 地理と歴史 (Geography and History) (Tokyo: Teikoku Press 帝国書院), No. 1, November 1953, pp 35—37.

cism and ascetic ethics that characterized the Protestant leaders of Japan in the early days of the church in this country.

The Spirit of Accommodation and Compromise

Then something seems to have happened. The attitude of Christians began to change. Instead of criticizing they were ready to compromise with the government. Very few observers appear to have noted this, but the easygoing attitude of the Christian students was noticed by the missionaries, one of whom complained that "many graduates take no interest in the church or its work, that they are very worldly in their manner of life, that not a few are a scandal even to unbelievers, and that some seem to be immune to any Christian influence, not only in spite of the fact that they have been educated in Christian institutions, but even on account of it, as if they had once for all had enough of the matter.*

Dr. Hiromichi Kozaki^a writing in 1893 said :

Only about ten years ago, each member of the church was responsible for his evangelistic work and did the same job that the minister did; and so Christian work made great progress. But now the idea of the division of labour has become more popular. Only ministers and professional workers engage in evangelistic work and suffer from the lack of funds and workers†

This was also the time when the church almost entirely ceased to put forth any effort to reach the coolies and the lowest class in the Japanese social system.‡

When the government planned the Conference of Three Re-

a. 小崎弘道

* Pieters, *op. cit.*, pp 151—52

† Rikugō Zasshi 六合雜誌. Tokyo, 1882—1912. No. 148, April, 1893.

‡ Faust, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

ligions in 1912, Christianity as a minority movement was forced to decide whether it would remain an outsider, that is, a critical minority, or would conform. There were two choices open, persecution and martyrdom, or compromise and accommodation. The Japanese church chose the latter and thus set the pattern for decades to come.*

Some twenty years later (1930), Mr. J. Merle Davis concluded that the state of the church was intimately related to "the psychology of the townspeople and their inherited social and cultural background." Who were the townspeople? Says Dr. Davis :

There are three groups from which the Church has principally been built up in the Asiatic fields. First, those who crave economic security (and who are the small minority in the Japanese Protestant church). Second, people such as teachers, doctors, minor civil servants and small officials who are loosely rooted and frequently transferred. And third, those in mission employ, or connected with institutions. Thus we find a very small proportion of tradesmen, merchants, bankers, landowners and high officials in the Church. The large turnover of church members in Japan is due to the preponderance of the professional and civil servant class in the membership.†

Dr. D. C. Holtom also noticed the changed attitude but from a different angle. He believed that the original critical spirit had been kept alive and appeared in declarations of opposition, such as, for example, the statement of the Federation of Christian Churches in 1917 against the traditional ancestor worship.

* Holtom, D. C. *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism, A study of present day trends in Japanese religions*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1943), p. 95.

† Davis, Merle J. *The Economic and Social Environment of the Younger Churches*, The Report of the Department of Social and Economic Research of the International Missionary Council to the Tambaram Meetings. (London: The Edinburgh House, 1939), pp 42—43.

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

Dr. Holtom's basic question regarding this phenomenon was this: Why was the pressure for a national unification of religions, against which the samurai Christians of the Meiji^a era had fought so bitterly, not resisted by the majority of Christians in the Taishō^b (1912—1925) and Shōwa^c (1925—) periods? That is, why did they decide that they had to compromise with the government? In his opinion the reason did not lie in any external changes. He claimed that whatever changes had taken place had not been in the national religion itself but in the attitude of the Japanese Christians.*

Dr. Holtom's question is our question. We seek the reason for the changed attitude of the Christians, the reason for the difference between the heroic, steadfast qualities of the early converts and the rather resigned and compliant attitude of the Christians of the later period. The reason, we believe, is related to the general change in the nature of church membership to which reference has already been made, that is, the shift, which began at the beginning of the twentieth century, from the old middle class samurai Christians to the white-collar groups, the modern middle class.

Although the missionaries were restricted to the cities for a period, the early Protestant Christians were actually very keen to expand evangelical work into every social class; but after the Russo-Japanese War the main body of church members seems to have become passive in its interest in the masses. Such leaders as Toyohiko Kagawa^d and Sakuzō Yoshino,^e who were acclaimed because of their philanthropic work and social leader-

a. 明治 b. 大正 c. 昭和 d. 賀川豊彦 e. 吉野作造

* Holtom, *op. cit.*, pp 99—100.

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

ship, were exceptions.

This social phenomenon coincided with the expansion of the new middle class. The newly-arisen salaried class, which became the core of the middle class of the Taishō and Shōwa periods, as well of the Christian church in the twentieth century, held an opportunistic philosophy which weakened the political resistance of the church to the developing nationalism. The sober individualism, which had been common among early Protestants and had been sustained by their faith, seems to have been almost forgotten by the new white-collar Christians.

In other words, despite the fact that the total evangelization of the country has long been the ideal of Japanese Protestants, the social narrowness and lack of spiritual zeal on the part of the white-collar class appears to have been the main hinderance to the penetration of the masses. Yet, before we can draw this conclusion, we must trace the history of the movement from the begining in order to know the nature of this white-collar class in some detail, and to discover whether or not there was in fact a real difference between the charactor of this class and that of the earlier Christians.

This study has a three-fold purpose: (1) to discover how Protestantism in the beginning of the Meiji Retoration was able to become intergrated into the rising middle class, the core of which was composed of the lower strata of samurai and merchants who were attempting to get positons of prestige in the new regime; (2) to make clear the extent to which Protestantism supported this new, rising class in its effort to increase in size and to establish its own ethic; and (3) to discover to what extent Protestantism has been influenced by the character of

the Japanese middle class.

The period covered is from the entry of Protestant missionaries (1859) to the end of World War I (1918).

Chapter II

PROTESTANTISM AND THE SAMURAI CLASS

(1872—1890)

Historical Periods

Traditionally Protestant history in Japan during its first half-century has been divided into five periods ; preparation (1859—1873), the establishment of early churches (1874—1882), rapid expansion (1883—1890), testing (1891—1900), and stability (1901—1912). Postwar Japanese scholars, however, prefer the following divisions :*

1859—1890.....Early churches (1859—1879, the beginning of missionary activity).

1891—1902.....Development of self-supporting churches.

1903—.....Formation of national churches.

For the purposes of this study the later arrangement is more satisfactory, because it conforms to developments in politics and economics. The 1859—1890 period is identified with the for-

* Sumiya, Mikio 隅谷三喜男 *Kindai Nihon no Keisei to Kirisuto-kyō*, 近代日本の形成とキリスト教 (*The Formation of Modern Japan and Christianity*) (Tokyo : Iwanami 岩波, 1954). Ōuchi, Saburō 大内三郎, “*Meiji Kirisuto-kyō Shinsō Shi ni okeru Jiki Kubun no Mondai*” 明治基督教真相史における時期区分の問題 (“*On Historical Division of the History of Christian Thought in the Meiji Era*”, (Yamanashi University Hōkoku, 1955). Professor Ōuchi's work is the most prominent in the field of methodology.

mation of a modern government, the 1891—1902 period with the first industrial revolution, and the 1903— period with the “Great Japanese Empire.” Naturally there is no clear line of demarkation. These periods overlap considerably and merely indicate major trends.

Period of Social Upheaval and Reorganization

The period beginning about 1872, when the first church was established in Yokohama, was one of political upheaval and social disorganization. The Restoration of 1868 shifted political power from the hands of the Tokugawa shogun to a government centering in the young Emperor Meiji, and resulted in the collapse of the Tokugawa-fostered class system and a decline in the traditional anti-foreign movement. In this situation the energetic leaders of the new government rushed to lay the foundation for their modernization program along Western lines; but the general shift in political emphasis was not as quick nor as complete as was the upsetting of the class system and the changes in the social status of the people. This was because, as was indicated in the government slogan “Rich Country, Strong Army” (*Fukoku Kyōhei*^a), the political reforms at that time were limited to nationalistic lines, and the concentration of political power was applied primarily to the problem of economic expansion and the development of military power. “Each modernization effort was clearly related to the pressing problem of increasing the wealth and power of the nation, and almost every major move was initiated and pushed by the

a. 富国強兵

national state in order to serve clearly defined national aims. ”*

Political leaders recognized that the best way to learn as much as possible from the advanced countries of the world regarding modernization of the state was to utilize the emperor system in driving the nation to a supreme effort at self-education. Thus, the major concern of the political leaders was, on the one hand, to establish as quickly as possible a new political and economic system that would make it possible to maintain a military-oriented industry for the defense of the young nation against the threat of the Occident and, on the other hand, to suppress the not inconsiderable opposition among those people who inevitably suffered most from the changes involved.

Efforts to Create Unity

The major hindrances to the success of the reforms were the weakening of the government's financial structure by civil war, and the people's concern for Western democracy and parliamentarianism. To break down these obstacles and to strengthen the emperor system, the government developed some unique policies. It promised in Emperor Meiji's Charter Oath,† for

* Brown, Delmer M. *Nationalism in Japan, An introductory historical analysis*. (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1955), pp 91—92.

† E. W. Clement, *A Short History of Japan* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1915), p. 112 quotes Ienaga's summary of the Charter Oath in his *Constitutional Development of Japan* as follows:

1. A deliberative assembly should be formed, and all measures be decided by public opinion.

2. The principles of social and political economics should be diligently studied by both the superior and (the) inferior classes of our people.

3. Everyone in the community shall be assisted to persevere in carrying out his will for good purposes.

4. All the old absurd usages of former times should be disregarded, and the impartiality and justice displayed in the workings of nature be adopted as a basis of action.

5. Wisdom and ability should be sought after in all quarters of the world for the purpose of firmly establishing the foundation of the Empire.

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

example, to rule in accordance with public opinion, but used this as a pretext to get political and economic support for the monarchy from the clans and rich merchants. Then later in the 1890's, it also used it, in the first place, to demonstrate the Emperor's benevolence in establishing a parliament and, in the second place, to prevent criticism of the true nature of the new parliamentary system which was so greatly limited by the imperial power.*

Family-Nation Concept and Christianity

In spite of the Charter Oath, which seemed to presage a progressive policy, the government did its best to revive the ancient ethics based on the traditional family-nation concept which required every subject to be obedient to the Emperor.† This was an effective strategy for suppressing criticism. The government clearly saw that rapid reforms would be followed by social disorganization, by effort at counter-reform, and by the political resistance of minority groups. Therefore, it emphasized the ethics of family unity. Everything good done by the government was a manifestation of the Emperor's benevolence. It was everyone's duty to forget all egoistic trends and, in accordance with the Emperor's will, defend the nation from all outside threats. Attempts at counter-reform and resistance were regarded

* Brown, *op. cit.*, pp. 92—102. Kishimoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 314—323 This seems to be a well-established theory about the Meiji government's policy. Professor Maruyama, Mr. Toyama and Mr. Inoue are the most prominent scholars in this field.

† Psychologically this family ethics encouraged a certain insularity which has made the Japanese jealous of the wealth of Western countries, and caused them to suffer from an inferiority complex with regard to the military power of the advanced countries.

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

as threats to parents and as treason against both the family and the nation. In the beginning of the Meiji era a Shinto propaganda program was set in motion which proclaimed the "Japan-as-a-family" ideology, a concept built upon a feudal caste system that denied the equality of all men. This was later strengthened by the establishment of State Shinto, which became the symbol of ideological unity, and the first and the greatest hindrance to the expansion of Christianity.

To what extent did Japanese Christians oppose this nationalistic family-nation concept, the ethical source of authoritarian Japanese nationalism, which was diametrically opposed to Christianity, the backbone of Western democracy and individualism?*

Under the family system, to be a Christian meant isolation from the indigenous society. For example, one well-known scholar of the period criticized Christianity by saying that "people who profess Christianity would rather desert their lords or fathers than be untrue to their religion.† Therefore, avoidance of the new faith because of the fear of government spies was not infrequent.‡ Opposition in the rural areas was especially intense. Yet, in spite of this the situation was not without a

* Holtom, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV.

† Sumiya, Mikio *op. cit.*, Chap II.

‡ Sanami, Wataru 佐波亘 (ed), *Uemura Masahisa to sono Jidai* 植村正久とその時代, (*Uemura Masaharu and His Age*) 6 vols. (Tokyo: Kyō Bun Kwan 教文館), 1937, p. 15

"As Townsend Harris said, the people did not have strong emotional reactions against other religions. Only fear and the eyes of the government spies relentlessly passing among them kept them from Christianity. A Christian merchant (an aristocrat), for example, placed imported goods on sale in his Ginza store. Later, a rumor arose that the police had taken down all the names of persons whom the novelty of these goods had attracted."

note of optimism. After making a very discouraging report in 1871, a missionary wrote the following year that "the great changes which are taking place in the government, the constitution of society, and the ideas of the people of Japan, indicate that ere long the field will be ready for the sower of gospel seed."* When the ban against Christianity was removed in 1873, this kind of optimism became somewhat general.†

However, the missionaries seem to have been deceived. Actually the government, because of its fear of the complaints of the Western powers, had only switched to a more indirect oppression through less spectacular methods, that is, through education and laws. This was simpler because in general the people had become tired of the government's concern in private matters of belief and tended to completely ignore religion, except on the occasion of marriages and funerals.

Who Became Christians ?

In such a situation, who could accept Christianity, an entirely alien way of thinking and living? Only a person of true courage who was seeking freedom of thought and faith despite the government's interference. Only a man of learning who was well-grounded in the understanding of Christian thought. And the only people who could qualify were the residents of urban areas who had a chance to meet the missionaries and were fortunate enough to be able to hear addresses on Christianity.

This was the "Rich Country, Strong Army" period in which

* The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Annual Report* 1871, p. 75

† *Ibid*, 1872, p. 70

students who mastered Western learning could more easily secure higher positions in the government. Necessarily, then, the first Christians were students of the language schools where missionaries were teachers, and almost all such students were from among the jobless samurai who at that time numbered about two hundred thousand.*

At the time, while the government was energetically pushing its modernization policy, it was suffering bitter financial difficulties because of civil wars and the resulting inflation. Economic dislocation violently shook the foundation of the whole political system, but all the government could do was to strengthen the monopoly system and exact more taxes from the people. Naturally, those who suffered most were, first, the peasants in the rural districts and, second, the urban poor; and it was just these people along with the unemployed lower class samurai who had lost their old privileges and were desperately trying to find new work.

The first concern of this latter group was to either recover their old privileges or to get better positions in the new regime. This was not strange. A prominent liberal Christian, Isoo Abe, correctly expressed the reason for the samurai's attitude when he wrote that, although his status in the clan had been about the lowest, compared with his low condition at the time, he had formerly lived like a modern bourgeois.† Naturally such men were very bitter in their criticism of the government. Never-

* Agatsuma, Tōsaku 我妻東策 *Meiji Shakai Seisaku-shi* 明治社会政策史, (A History of Public Welfare Programs in Meiji Japan.) (Tokyo: Sansei Dō 三省堂 1938). Chaps. I and II.

† Abe, Isoo 安部磯雄, *Shakai-shugisha e no Michi* 社会主義者への道 (A Way to Socialism: an Autobiography). (Tokyo Sansei Dō 1949), p. 1.

theless, they believed everything the government told them about the future of modernized Japan : Japan as the Emperor's family, and the establishment of a sort of democracy in this country. Kanzo Uchimura, one of the most prominent of the samurai Christians was among those caught by the government's honeyed word. In his autobiography he wrote :

I early learnt to honor my nation above all others, and to worship my nation's gods and no others. I thought I could not be forced even by death itself to vow my allegiance to any other gods than my country's. I should be a traitor to my country, and an apostate from my national faith by accepting a faith which is exotic in its origin. All my noble ambitions which had been built upon my former conceptions of duty and patriotism were to be demolished... *

The Samurai Go to School

Before the 1890's schools—private language schools, including mission schools, and small-sized government schools—were the only means for the jobless samurai to climb the social ladder. So the young samurai went to school. As an example of what happened, take Keio Gijuku (present day Keio University), which was established at the end of the Tokugawa era and was one of the largest schools of Western style at that time. From 1863 to 1871, out of 1,329 students entering the school, 1,289 were from the samurai class. Only 12 percent of the entering students in 1872 and 18 percent in 1873 belonged to other classes, such as merchants, farmers, etc.†

This was also the case with mission schools. In the beginning

* Uchimura, Kanzo 内村鑑三, *How I Became a Christian*. English Edition. (Tokyo: Keisei Sha 警醒社, 1895), p. 11.

† Watanabe, Ikujiro 渡辺幾次郎, *Meiji Shi Kenkyū*. 明治史研究 (*A History of Meiji*) Tokyo: 1938; pp. 323—24.

a majority of the student body of Doshisha was comprised of those who had transferred from a Kumamoto language school established for young samurai of the Kumamoto clan. Moreover, almost all the Christian leaders who studied in the mission schools in Yokohama were the children of samurai. These were typical. Somehow or other the younger generation of samurai gathered in the big cities to be educated,* and the schools flourished so much that at Doshisha, for example, even though a new building had been opened in the autumn of 1878, it was at once fully occupied.†

Character of Early Christians

Who among the students became Christians? Of course, not all, although there were some exceptional cases, such as at the government's Sapporo Agricultural School where almost all the students in the first classes confessed their faith. A majority of students at that time, including mission school students, however, approached Western scholars for language instruction rather than for Christianity. As one of them who was converted frankly stated, "we were very pleased by the kind and exhaustive teaching methods of the missionaries in the school, but we just hated Christianity and made up our minds to break with those who became interested in Christianity."‡

It is almost impossible for a person to entirely free himself

* Kishimoto, *op. cit.*, p. 177, pp. 204—11 and Sumiya, *op. cit.*, chap. I.

† The American Board of Commissions for Foreign Missions. *Annual Report* 1878, p. 90.

‡ Washiyama, Teisaburō 鷺山第三郎, *Meiji Gakuin Gojū-nen Shi* 明治学院五十年史 (Fifty Years of Meiji Gakuin.) (Tokyo: Meiji Gakuin 明治学院 1927), pp 104—05.

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

from the traditional customs that surround him. His social status is a sort of trade mark, which indicates his educational and family background. It is especially hard for a person to accept a religion, which has been prevented by harsh government regulations and social prejudice from penetrating society without having it affect his social status. In that period, more than mere rational, intellectual conviction was needed for a person to confess Christianity and to free himself from the conventional morality of the family system. The young men who became the early Christians had real courage.

Even though almost all of them at first gathered around the missionaries in order to receive English instruction, their enthusiasm for everything new was a sign of their intelligence. It also demonstrated their suppressed, critical, and irritated feelings. In other words, in their courageous opposition to government regulations and in their confession of Christianity, they were sustained by their wounded pride. For except in their intelligence, the samurai were no longer the superior of the common man. In many cases conversion came to those who were disappointed in both the past and the present. They were looking for a new ideal which would never betray them.

It is significant that the early Christian leaders with very few exceptions appeared among the samurai of those clans that had opposed the Imperial forces.* Most of them were called "Meiji Puritans." and it is easy to understand why they got the name.

* To prove this point, there have been a number of scholarly studies. The latest among them are the following: Katakazawa, Chiyomatsu 片沢千代松, *Meiji Shoki Purotesutanto no Shinto Kōzō* (*Construction of Protestants in the Meiji Era*), *Journal of History of Christianity*, No. 7, October 1956, pp. 52—59.

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

Professor Saburo Ienaga has pointed out that the samurai Christian's ethical demand was so rigid and extreme that it raised a wall between the masses and Christianity.* They were too critical to recognize the other's strong points; and oftentimes their very opposition made it impossible for the government to achieve some desirable reforms.

Mr. J. Merle Davis in attempting to interpret this type of psychology quotes J. C. Heinrich's "The Psychology of Suppressed People" to the effect that

"the three chief manifestations of the psychology of the depressed class individual are a direct reaction of resentment, a concealment reaction and an indirect reaction which finds its most unusual expression in the desire to humiliate others and to assert his own superiority. Many were the struggles for adjustment and supremacy between the mental process and outlook of missionaries trained in the concepts of New England puritanism and the highspirited, feudal-minded leaders of the infant church in Japan.†

Mr. Davis thus emphasized a weak point of Christian personality in Japan, and questioned whether the Church had fully considered some of the deepest Japanese motivations in presenting the claims of Christ to the individual. Conversion, be it noted, is often a means of sublimating repressed resentments.

Mr. Davis' position is entirely correct. The conversion of many samurai undoubtedly resulted in part from their resentment against social change. Their consciousness of being "the Chosen" was to some extent an expression of a desire to assert their superiority as intellectuals over the common people. Thus, in

* Kudō, Eiichi 工藤英一, *Shoki Nihon Purotesutanto no Shakai Sō* 初期日本プロテスタントの社会層 (*On the Social Structure of the Meiji Protestant*), *Meiji Gakuin Ronsō* 明治学院論叢 (Tokyo: Meiji Gakuin 1954), No. 30.

† Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 49—51.

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

their early history, a kind of ascetic ethics combined with a sense of superiority drove them as Christians into a state of isolation from the rest of society. As Dr. Hiromichi Kozaki pointed out, many samurai had joined Christian churches as a means of demonstrating their resentment against the new society.* And, it was their resentment that caused them to move from a simple and sincere confession of sin to a defense of a pure Christian faith free from idolatry, and to oppose the government's abuse of religion in its policy of modernization.

It was their keenness and sincerity, combined with a flexibility, that enabled them to change their religious faith. Another side of their conversion is seen in their seeking a better chance to climb the social ladder. Both of these aspects affected the samurai Christians and enabled them to build up a wall between themselves and the masses. The common people retained conventional family morality and usually confused mere Western utilitarianism with Christianity and intellectual loyalty to individualism. Missionary policy in the middle of the Meiji era, with its emphasis on the expansion of mission schools rather than on preaching, aggravated this separation from the masses.†

Expansion of Government Schools

In the 1870's the government inaugurated a universal educational system in order to create a stronger ideological unity, introduce Western scientific knowledge, and develop higher educational institutions to train national leaders. A large number

* Kozaki, Hiromichi 小崎弘道, *Kozaki Hiromichi Zenshū* 小崎弘道全集 (*The Collected Works*). 6 vols, (Tokyo: Keisei Sha 警醒社 1939), pp. 334—35.

† Perry, R. B. *The Gist of Japan*. New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1897, p. 250

of trained personnel was needed for education, for the expanding bureaucracy, for industrial programs, and for the modern army. Therefore, a Department of Education was set up in 1871, and the next year the Code of Education was promulgated and a normal school was established. Later Tokyo University and the normal school system were enlarged and the government sent instructions to local officials to encourage capable students to go to the big cities to study. In the 1880s the government's effort to develop an educational system along Western lines reached a peak.* When a progressive Minister of Education even went so far as to propose that English might be substituted for Japanese, which at the time seemed unsuitable for the expression of modern scientific concepts, leading members of the cabinet generally accepted his proposal as sound.†

Interest in Foreign Language Aids Mission Schools

As the government elementary and middle school education system became more popular, the number of students who wanted to enter higher institutions increased.‡ However, although a knowledge of a foreign language, particularly English, was required in order to enter a higher school, such as Tokyo

* Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

† Kishimoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 241—42

Wach, Joachim, *Sociology of Religion*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1954).

‡ Stafford Ransome. *Japan of Transition*..... a comparative study of the progress, policy, and methods of the Japanese since their war with China. New York: Harper & Bros., 1899. p. 65—66.

The rate of increase of students (1873—1895):

1873.....	1,180,000	1879.....	2,210,000	1885.....	3,180,000
1891.....	3,630,000	1892.....	3,698,536	1893.....	3,897,491
1894.....	4,091,110	1895.....	4,290,487		

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

University where the majority of prominent professors were still foreigners, because the preparatory school system was incomplete and there were few qualified language government school teachers, it was difficult for government school students to learn enough English before entering a higher school. In fact, except for mission schools, there were very few institutions where a student might devote himself to learning a foreign language under the direction of distinguished teachers. Thus, many students "were concentrating in mission schools which were flourishing because of the incomplete preparatory school system."*

However, these flourishing mission schools had a fatal weakness: they were mere "stepping stones" to government institutions.† The encouragement of Western learning could aid the government in creating ideological unity and in promoting modernization only under a plan strictly designed and controlled by the government. Naturally, missionaries were pleased by and emphasized "the fact that the Japanese through all grades of society [were] pursuing the study of English with the passionate enthusiasm‡," but they gradually became disillusioned as they understood that the government was merely using the mission schools as a temporary substitute for government preparatory schools, and that this would soon change.

Missionaries Challenge Japanese Society

At the time, however, the position of the mission schools was powerful enough for the missionaries to challenge Japanese

* Aizawa *op. cit.*, p. 108

† *Ibid.* p. 108

‡ The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. *Annual Report*. 1887, pp. 53—54.

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

society. Therefore, they often criticized the opportunism shown both by the government and the students desperately seeking careers by the English language route.* Young Christian leaders, mostly former samurai, took the initiative in forming public opinion, and their only competitor was a group of professors of Tokyo University who incidentally rather favored Christianity.

Generally speaking the situation seemed very favorable. The number of Christians in 1890 was more than twenty times that of 1878. Whenever Christian leaders held public debates and preaching, "all meetings were full of students, including Tokyo University students or those who looked liked they had just graduated."† In the period of Westernization (1873—1887), when the government fostered a pro-West attitude as a political gesture which had as its purpose treaty reform, mission schools reached the first high peak in their history. According to one report,

.....never in the history of this school has there been a more successful year than the one drawing to a close. Ferris Seminary, together with almost every other mission girls' school in Japan, is full to overflowing....Scarcely has a week passed since September that we have not had to refuse applications for admission into the school for want of accommodations. Even now I fear we are trespassing upon the laws of hygiene by crowding too much.‡

Samurai Unemployment Solved

As a result of industrialization and the development of educa-

* *Ibid.*, 1886, p. 147

† Kishimoto, op. cit., p. 237; Increase in church membership:

1878..1,617 members, 1882..4,367 members, 1885..11,000 members, 1890..34,000 members.

‡ The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. *Annual Report*. 1887, p. 74.

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

tion, the unemployment problem of the two hundred thousand samurai was about to be solved.* The government was doing its best to build high schools in local districts, which meant that soon the samurai and the intellectuals would no longer have to go to the big cities and cultural centers in order to enroll in schools and to get positions. Yet, for some time a majority of the schools and industries continued to be concentrated in big cities such as Tokyo and Osaka.

Characteristics of the Period from 1872—1890

Let us now consider briefly some characteristics of the early period from 1872 to 1890 and at the same time summarize some points that have been mentioned.

1. In the period from 1872—1890 the emphasis of Protestant missions was mainly on mission schools. It was only later that the emphasis shifted to the students of the increasing government schools.

2. In the very early period almost all the students of both mission and government schools were boarding students who gathered in the big cities away from their homes. In a later period a majority of the students were day scholars.† It was at about the time of the Russo-Japanese War that day scholars constituted a majority in mission schools and, as the government school system continued to develop, mission schools rapidly lost their unique position as boarding schools.‡ Thus, it became

* Agatsuma, *op. cit.*, Chaps. IV and V

† Washiyama *op. cit.*, pp. 144—47, 235—71

‡ Yamamoto, Hideki 山本秀雄, *Fuerisu Waei Jogakkō Roku-jū-nen Shi* フェリス和英女学校六十年史, (*Sixty Years of Ferris Seminary.*) (Yokohama: Ferris Seminary, 1931), p. 148.

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

almost impossible for missionaries to maintain the intensive religious training which they had planned for the boarding schools, and from which they had expected to produce many men of faith.

3. The age for receiving baptism gradually became lower and lower. Whereas before 1888 the average age of baptism was relatively high (33.1), and there were very few cases of infant baptism, in the 1890s the average age became slightly lower (30—31), and the number of infant baptisms rapidly increased.*

Therefore, in spite of their weak points, samurai Christians were generally men of somewhat mature faith. They were men of independent personality and, once they accepted the faith, they stood firmly in its defence. Moreover, they were generally very active in evangelistic work, and recognized their responsibility to spread the Gospel among their brethern.

4. In the beginning men were more numerous among the converts. This resulted from the fact that "in almost all Christian public meetings around this period the majority of the audience was composed of male students, including Tokyo University students and young men coming up to Tokyo looking for jobs who admired Western learning;" but it was also due to the fact that, in spite of the development of girls education, women were still bound by conventional family ethics. In the formative years, in spite of the fact that Christianity then had

* The average age at the present time (1952) is much lower (24.2). Even before 1888 almost all of the ministers and leaders were baptized while they where in schools, the average age at baptism being relatively young (22.9). Since the end of the Meiji period (1912), the average has become still lower (19.9).

SOCIAL STATUS OF PROTESTANT CHRISTIANITY

more educational institutions for women than for men, the ratio of women to men in Protestant churches was three to four.*

5. The samurai who became the backbone of the Christian movement sought an opportunity to revive their status as intellectuals. Christians, the samurai Christians, were people from the old intellectual class disrupted by the Meiji government's policies, while, as we shall see later, the Christians in the later Meiji period were mainly from the middle class newly created by the "Rich Country, Strong Army" policy.

— to be continued —

* Kozaki, Hiromichi 小崎弘道, *Kozaki Hiromichi Zenshū*. 小崎弘道全集 (*The Collected Works*). VI vols. (Tokyo: Keisei Sha 警醒社, 1939), pp. 332—33.

RISSHŌ KŌSEI KAI*

By Jōkai Kamomiya



Origin

Risshō Kōsei Kai^a was founded in 1938 by the Reverend Nikkyō Niwano^b and the late Mrs. Myōkō Naganuma^c. It is a religious organization based on Nichiren^d Buddhism and can be regarded as an offshoot of the Reiyū Kai^e. The reason for the secession from Reiyū Kai was doctrinal. Reiyū Kai preached that repetition of the Sacred Title, *Namu Myōhō-rence-kyō*,† would save the soul of an individual; but the two founders, Naganuma and Niwano, held that salvation is not possible unless one's life accords with the teachings and unless a person improves the quality of his personality.

Name

The ideal of the new group can be found in its name, Risshō Kōsei Kai. *Ritsu*^f means "based on." *Shō*^g means "the right road" or "right teaching," that is, the Buddhist Law (*dharma*). *Kō*^h means "association" or "to associate." In the past religious groups have emphasized the life of the priest, but this group emphasizes the laity, the leadership of laymen. That is why the term *kō*, meaning a "laymen's group," is used.

a. 立正佼成会 b. 庭野日敬 c. 長沼妙佼 d. 日蓮 e. 靈友会 f. 立 g. 正 h. 佼

* This talk was delivered to a group of Westerners at the Tokyo headquarters of Risshō Kōsei Kai in connection with an Institute-sponsored tour.

† *Namu myōhō-rence-kyō*, 南無妙法蓮華經

It signifies that one must live a righteous life in association with people at home and at the office. *Sei*^a signifies "perfection," the perfection of our personality. Perfection of personality in Buddhism is called *jōbutsu*^b, that is "to become a Buddha." This does not refer only to a man on the verge of death, but the perfection or completion of personality. *Kai*^c means "congregation" or an "association of people," who aim at achieving these noble purposes.

As you can see from the meaning of the name, this group is not one that draws strength from magical manipulations or superstitions. The Reverend Niwano, president of the Risshō Kōsei Kai, is of the opinion that the continued chanting of *Namu Myōhō-rence-kyō*, the title of the Lotus Sutra, such as is practiced in the Sōka Gakkai or in other organizations of Nichiren-ism, is not right. The emphasis in Risshō Kōsei Kai is placed on such things as the perfection of personality, Chanting the Sacred Title or Amida's name, prayer, etc., are secondary means to help achieve the goal. That is the reason why Mr. Niwano seceded from the Reiyū Kai and the existing Nichiren organizations. During the first decade, revelation was the essence of the group, —revelation from above, revelation given through Mrs. Naganuma.

First Stage

The group started in 1938 with thirty members. In the following ten years the adherents grew to 18,000 households. During this period there was cooperation between it and some other sects of Nichiren Buddhism. Although we withdrew from

a. 成 b. 成仏 c. 会

Reiyū Kai, we wished to collaborate with the Nichiren Sect but the sect officials did not show much enthusiasm about cooperation. Moreover, the Nichiren Sect did not agree to uphold the essential points of this organization, and gave the impression that they were not sincere. Such an undependable relationship led to gradual separation.

The first decade can be called the first stage in the growth of Risshō Kōsei Kai.

Second Stage

The second stage began in 1949 with our secession from the Nichiren Sect and affiliation with the Union of New Religious Organization of Japan. It lasted until 1957. In this period our adherents increased to 330,000 households.

The first stage was characterized by spiritual revelation from above. The second stage was characterized by "practice and action" (*gyō^a* and *gō^b*). The doctrine of this organization is based on the "three actions" (*san-gō^c*).

1. Verbal actions—Acts of the mouth: one must chant *Namu Myōhō-rence-kyō*, and recite the sacred scriptures.
 2. Mental actions—One must repent of and purify the sins of the six senses (*rokkon shōjō^d*).
 3. Bodily actions—The practice of special actions, that is, the practice of the Bodhisattva's way that affects others.
- These three kinds of pure achievement must be conducted before one can hope to perfect his personality.

During 1952—1956 Risshō Kōsei Kai was severely criticized by people in general. In 1952 the Japan Broadcast Corporation

a. 行 b. 業 c. 三業 d. 六根清淨

and in 1955 the Yomiuri^a Newspaper were among our accusers. The influence of the Yomiuri has been so strong in the past that at one time such religious groups as Hito no Michi^b and Ōmoto^c were suppressed as a result of its charges. However, Risshō Kōsei Kai was not seriously affected by the Yomiuri attacks. There was a little confusion in the minds of some believers, but such people were just nominal followers who did not participate in the activities of the organization. In the long run the Yomiuri attack did not have a very serious affect.

The second stage can be said to have been a transitional stage, and the first and second stage together can be said to have been a period of accommodation (*hōben*^d).

Third Stage—The Object of Worship

The third stage, which began in 1958, is a period in which "actions and learning go hand in hand." In January, 1959, the Rev. Nikkyō Niwano, the President, formally announced that the real object of worship of Risshō Kōsei Kai is the Buddha Sakyamuni who has realized Buddhahood from eternity (*Kuon Jitsujō no Shakamuni Butsu*^e): the Buddha who has eternal life; not the human Buddha, but the cosmic life, Law and Truth. The object of worship can be compared to the God of Christianity.

Chapter 16 of the Lotus Sutra describes this object of worship. In this chapter the Buddha says that it has been countless eons since he attained enlightenment. It means that Sakyamuni is the Buddha existing and preaching from all eternity. He says, he continues preaching the Law in this

a. 読売 b. ひとのみち c. 大本 d. 方便 e. 久遠実成の釈迦牟尼仏

place. His plan is to lead countless beings into Buddhahood. He is existing wherever beings live, but he has made himself invisible by his inconceivable power. In other words, they cannot see the Buddha because their minds are in error. People who wish to see the Buddha should observe piety towards Him and have a fervent desire to be saved by Him. Such people gradually deepen their faith. They become gentle and meek until the feeling rises and deepens in them to such a degree that they are willing to offer their lives. At that moment the Buddha Sakyamuni shows himself to them. Such is the object of worship as stated in the Lotus Sutra.

Comparison with Christianity

In Matthew 6 it says that when you pray you should go into your room, shut the door, and pray to God who is in secret and the God whom people can't see will answer. The God whom you can't see corresponds to the Buddha of the Lotus Sutra.

When the Bible says that God will answer your prayer, this means that God will show his presence, to the one who prays. Reference to the eternal God is also found in John 4:24—27. The Buddha Sakyamuni and the Christian God are one and the same.

Moreover, Christ and Sakyamuni seem to be very much alike. The object of worship is the Eternal Buddha not the human Buddha. This is comparable to the God of Christianity as eternal life and not the human Christ. It is eternal life. Therefore, we call the Eternal Buddha the Eternal God. The human Sakyamuni and Christ were sent to this mundane world by the Eternal Buddha, or God, for the purpose of saving mankind.

Chapter 16 of the Lotus Sutra and chapters 12 and 14 of St. John's Gospel explain this. Therefore, both Christians and the members of this organization believe in the teachings of Sakyamuni or the teachings of Christ sent by the Eternal Buddha or God to this world, and at all times we must aim at the perfection of our personality. Risshō Kōsei Kai does not say that other religions are not genuine, so for the peace and welfare of mankind we wish to join hands with other religions which are just and good.

We think there are some differences between Christianity and Risshō Kōsei Kai in regard to the solution of the sufferings of the world. However that may be, it is how to solve sufferings found in our environment or among ourselves that is the great task of religions everywhere in the world. We insist that the solution must not be sought by magical methods. From this view-point, we want to find religious groups with which we can join hands for the sake of world peace. These are not to be found in Islam nor in the established Buddhist sects in Japan, but in Christianity alone.

Some Doctrines

It is not right to be resigned to one's sufferings. Sometimes, for instance, one satisfies oneself with the thought that there are other people who are more unhappy than oneself; but this is not the right approach. The sects centered in the *nembutsu*^a tend to take such a resigned attitude toward life, but this is not the proper approach. The Buddha Sakyamuni taught the four noble truths (*shitai*^b) to overcome suffering in this life.

a. 念仏. b. 四諦

Religion tries to solve suffering (*kutai^a*) in the spiritual, economic, and other fields. When suffering has been overcome, we attain a state called the truth of extinction (*mettai^b*) which means that our suffering has been destroyed.

Thus, the question of method (*dōtai^c*), that is, how to achieve this peaceful state, arises. This is, of course, where perfect religion can develop. Without resorting to magical methods, we try to find the reason or cause of our suffering (*jittai^d*).

Consideration of the cause is the basis of our discussion groups (*hōza^e*). Visitors coming here want to see the people chanting the Sacred Title, but this is just one expedient, one method. The important thing is where our people learn what they must practice at home or in their work. That is the most important point.

So we emphasize the Bodhisattva spirit, which tries not only to perfect one's own personality but tries to give guidance to others, that is, to help others, to save others.

So training does not take place only at the training hall at this headquarters, but must be continued at home and in daily work. This group tries to practice very faithfully what the Buddha Sakyamuni taught in regard to the Four Noble Truths, the Twelve Chains of Causality (*jūni inner^f*), and the Six Perfections (*roku haramitsu^g*). We think the only way to save the world from its confusion is to be found in the teachings of the Buddha Sakyamuni.

We wish to join hands with you Christians because we believe that you must be right-minded for the sake of the salvation of mankind. The fundamental elements of Christianity are

a. 苦諦 b. 滅諦 c. 道諦 d. 集諦 e. 法座 f. 十二因緣 g. 六波羅蜜

splendid as a religion. That is why we wish to join hands.

There are too many religious groups in which the methods followed are not proper. For example, some groups stress magic and are not worthy to be called religions.

Discussion

- Q** What is the relationship between the concept of the Eternal Buddha and the historic Buddha. To what extent is the historical manifestation regarded as important?
- A** Both scriptures teach directly that when we earnestly seek for Buddha or God, he appears before us, and leads us into eternal life. This is derived from the fact that Sakyamuni and Christ sacrificed their lives in order to save us. The main point is to sacrifice oneself for others. This is the meeting point of our faith and Christianity, though it appears in different countries and in different ways.
- Q** What did you have in mind when you compared the Buddha and Christ?
- A** The Christian believes that Jesus is as important as God; and in the same way we believe in the relationship between Sakyamuni, that is, the human Buddha and the Eternal Buddha. The former is the manifestation of the latter.
- Q** What unique character has Sakyamuni as the manifestation of the Eternal Buddha?
- A** We can find his character in the 16th chapter of the Lotus Sutra, and also in John 5:24: "I say to you, he who hears my word and believes him who sent me, has eternal life; he does not come into judgement, but has passed from death

to life.”

Q What is the concept of eternal life. Is it an individual existence or otherwise?

A Individuals are a part of eternal life. Therefore, human beings also enter into eternal life. Entering into eternal life takes place when one becomes a Buddha. So religious groups are worthy of their name when they strive to attain this eternal life and do not try to get material gains or bodily gains from selfish motives. From this viewpoint we pay our highest respect to Christianity. Most of the new religions of Japan are not like this.

Q I didn't see many young people today. Most of the people in the circles (*hōza*) were adult women.

A Young people come almost every day, but now they are engaged in a local activity in the morning and afternoon. In the evening young people come in great numbers.

Q What kind of social work do you have?

A We have a large hospital very near here, a graveyard, a wedding hall, an old people's home, and a day nursery; and we have schools from kindergarten through high school.

KONKO-KYO: A RELIGION OF MEDIATION

By Delwin B. Schneider

It is well known that though people are sincere and conscientious in their belief in Kami,^a countless numbers are still troubled. Help them out of their difficulties and both Kami and his children will be relieved. Kami and his children are co-existent; the realization of this truth will lead you to prosperity. You will thus be handing down to future generations the way to prosperity through this mutual response.¹

Rikkyō Shinden,^b "The
Call of the Founder."

Through Ikigami Konkō Daijin^c
To Tenchi Kane no Kami^d
With heart and soul pray.
The divine favor depends on your own heart
On this very day, pray!²

Kakitsuke,^e "Heaven and
Earth's Reminder."

Now is the time to pray with a single heart; the receiving of the divine favor depends upon your heart.

Neither night or day, being near or far away, can separate you from Kami; pray with a trusting heart.

a. 神 (Following the practise of this journal, the word "Kami," like Allah, is treated as an English word and therefore is not italicized. Ed.) b. 立教神伝 c. 生神金光大神 d. 天地金乃神 e. 書附

1. *Kyōten (The Scriptures of Konkō-kyō)* p. 6

2. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

Spiritual exercise is more profitable than bodily exercise.³

Michi Oshie no Taikō,^a
"The Teachings of the Way"

There can be no love in the mouth if there is hatred in the heart.

Those who believe should carry an amulet in their hearts.

It is better to seek a kindred heart than to seek the well-born and the well-bred.

Whether your prayer is answered or not depends upon your own heart.

The poorest of men are they who know neither the teachings of Kami nor the True Way.

Kami is without voice and without form. Because of this, some men will always doubt his existence. But doubt is a fearful thing; lay aside all doubt.⁴

Shinjin no Kokoroe,^b
"Instructions concerning
the Faith."

Even as a parent loves a worthless child with greater love, so Kami loves those without faith. Have faith and receive his favor.

Tenchi Kane no Kami is tolerant of all religions. Your faith should not be narrow; it should be broad. Think of the whole wide world, for the world dwells within your mind.

If you would see Kami, step out into the garden. The sky above you and the earth beneath you is Kami.

Have faith. To have faith means to have your heart directed toward Kami. Even though the children of Kami are in the

a. 道教乃大綱 b. 信心の心得

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 17 f.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 20 ff.

midst of the divine virtue, without faith they do not have the divine favor. A lamp filled with oil cannot be lit without a wick. If a lamp is not lit, the night remains darkness. Without faith, the world becomes darkness.

Have a plum blossom faith rather than a cherry blossom faith. The cherry blossom falls quickly; the plum blossom, having withstood adversity, endures.

It is better to purify the heart in faith than to wash the body in purification.

If you have faith, the unseen gifts of divine favor which you receive are greater than those which are seen; the unknown gifts are more than those which are known. As you ponder this, you should understand that all things have occurred in your life because of the divine favor. A true believer is one with such a faith.⁵

Gorikai,^a "The Understanding."

× × × × × ×

The above quotations are taken from the scriptures of Konkō-kyō, still referred to as one of the traditional thirteen sects of Shinto. Konkō-kyō draws attention to itself for various reasons. It has within a century of its history deepened its vision and arisen from the level of a faith-healing sect to become one of the more noble in teaching of the popular expressions of Japan's old religion. It has repudiated the charm of the soothsayer; it has debarred from its practice the jargon of incantation; it has rejected from its life the power of magic to add to its

a. 御理解

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 31 ff.

ability, and it has sought its faith-referent in Tenchi Kane no Kami, the Parent Kami of the Great Universe.

Konkō-kyō has been incongruously and differently described. It has been described as a monotheism, an informal pantheism and a polytheism; its Kami has been called an omnipotent creator, an ever-loving god, and there are those who have found in it a tritheism. With none of these appellations is Konkō-kyō concerned. Konkō-kyō is the way of the Kami and, more particularly, the way of Tenchi Kane no Kami. Konkō-kyō is not concerned with the secondary conceptual derivatives of its experience; it is a religion of function and as such experience is primary. Though it has grown up as a sect under the shelter of Shinto and has taken the form of Shinto in its rites, prayers and ceremonial robes, it is according to its adherents "a new religion which arose in modern Japan without any essential relation to the religions, sects or religious movements that had existed and, as such, it has its unique province and mission."⁶ It has, in fact, both in point of its supreme Kami and its teachings and articles of faith, its own characteristics based upon the experience of the founder and the message which became his upon his Kami-possession. It combines some of the more lofty elements of Japan's old (and still "new") religion and has been called "the fulfillment of Shinto" and "the Christianity of the Japanese nation." As such, it wants to be understood as an unique and universal religion. The cry of the founder remains the clarion call to this day: "Heaven and earth is now open; awake and hear its sound."⁷

6. Satō, Kazuo 佐藤一夫, editor, *Konkō-kyō Outline*. (Konkō: Konkō-kyō Hombu Kyōchō 金教教本部教庁, 1958) p. 1.

7. *Kyōten*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

The founder who was a participator in the "divine atmosphere" of a new spiritual realm mediates to the world his new-found understanding and calls it to share in his delight. And today his devotees, each one a mediator, is telling Japan, Hawaii and America that if the eyes and ears of mankind become spiritual eyes and ears permeated with the divine virtue, those same eyes and ears shall be the bearers of the dawn of of a new world. This universe, said the founder, is the shrine and the image of Tenchi Kane no Kami. It is the home of man and no man need aspire to another "ideal" or heavenly home. He lives now in the midst of the "infinite benevolence" of the Parent Kami of the Great Universe; by throwing away selfish desire and opening the mind to understanding, he will find that this home of his "itself is the Kingdom of God."

The Founding

Bunjirō Kawate,^a founder of the Konkō sect and well-known throughout Japan by his religious name, Ikigami Konkō Daijin, (The Living Kami, The Great Konkō), was born on August 16, 1814. He was born when Tennō Ninkō,^b the 120th emperor held court at Kyoto, when Harumasa Ikeda^c was feudal lord of Okayama, and when the peasant sage, Sontoku Ninomiya,^d who had pondered long about Shinto, what it calls the Way, and about Confucianism, what its teachings consist of, and also about Buddhism, wrote a poem to sum up the temper of his age:

The things of this world
Are like lengths
Of bamboo rods

a. 川手文治郎 *b.* 仁孝天皇 *c.* 池田晴正 *d.* 二宮尊徳

KONKO-KYO: A RELIGION OF MEDIATION

For use in fish nets
This one's too long,
That one too short.⁸

Kawate was born in Urami^a near the Inland Sea between Ōsaka and Hiroshima in the feudal district called the land of Kibi.^b The land of Kibi has contributed its share in Japan's religious history. From this land of brooks and inland bays, of plains and mountains, came Hōnen^c (1132—1211) one of the great patriarchs of Pure Land Buddhism and the builder of the Chion-in^d in Kyōto. From it came Munetada Kurozumi^e (1780—1850), the founder of the sect that still bears his name. But for the faithful of Konkō-kyō, no one is greater among the religious of the land of Kibi than Bunjirō Kawate who found the living Kami whom he called Tenchi Kane no Kami.

Though the biographies of the founders of religions are often lost in antiquity or shrouded in legend, the student stands a chance of getting through to the historical person of Kawate and finding justification for his life and work in its own right. His quest for the religious life was not easy, for his life like the lives of those about him was made bewilderingly difficult by a maze of belief in lucky and unlucky days, favorable and unfavorable auspices and in good and bad directions. The *Ying-Yang* way has always exercised a tremendous influence on the life of the Japanese people and there were those like Kawate's neighbor, Munetada Kurozumi, who could plot his fortunes and his future by the use of the hexagram and trigram. For others and for Bunjirō Kawate it was the cause of deep

a. 占見 b. 吉備 c. 法然 d. 知恩院 e. 黒住宗忠

8. Wm. Theodore de Bary, editor, *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), p. 585.

spiritual agony and insecurity. And of all the curses dreaded by Kawate and his peasant neighbors nothing was more dreadful than the curse of a deity called Konjin.^a a semi-demonic Kami who found his way to Japan through the calendar of China.

Konjin was called Ushitora no Konjin,^b the "metal-Kami of the northeast" and guardian of the *kimon*^c or demon gate. The power of *In*^d is concentrated here, they said, and one hundred demons are constantly passing through the northeast gate. But Konjin does not remain stationary at the gate; he takes a trip to the north every second and third year, to the east every first and fourth year and to the south every fifth year. To keep informed of these periodic moves of Konjin took some of the best minds of Kawate's day; for to begin construction, to embark on a journey or to institute marriage procedures at an inauspicious time was to invite the inevitable retribution of the angry demonic Konjin.

It was in fear of this Kami that Kawate lived his early life; but out of this fear originated his conversion whereby he transformed the awful wrath of Konjin into a benevolent and powerful Kami, interpreting the ideogram *Kon*^e or "metal" (in Chinese cosmology symbolizing the killing power of autumn) as "gold" which became a part of the name of the sect which he founded. After experiencing the double burden of family responsibilities and successive misfortunes, it was in the forty-second year of his life.....his climactic year.....that he was seized by one of his more forceful Kami-posessions which resulted in what A. C. Bouquet unreservedly judged to be "an example of an independent approximation to prophetic

a. 金神 b. 丑寅の金神 c. 鬼門 d. 陰 e. 金

monotheism."⁹

The making of Kawate's spiritual life and the re-making of his worldview begins with this event. He believed that some spiritual principle or agency from another world had communicated with him and that it was trying to do him good. He recovered from a serious illness, minutely investigated the impulses of his life and gradually there developed within him an understanding that combined his divergent views of his own life and its spiritual world. At first, he connected this experience with the calendar Kami, Konjin. But as time went on he called the Kami with whom he had been in contact Kane no Kami, the Kami who unifies, *i.e.*, the spiritual principle that gives unity to life.

On October 21, 1859, the oracle spoke to him again. He received from Kane no Kami the directive of establishment by which both Kami and the children of Kami would prosper. He was to abandon the occupation of his family, put aside the interest of self, and give assistance to Kami. The oracle communicated also with his wife to inform her that she was to consider herself a widow so that her husband could devote all his energies to the task of propagating to future generations and to the countless number of people who were troubled in his day, the way to prosperity through the "mutuality" of Kami and his children. The founder was to think of Kane no Kami and his children as a father and son relationship where both are needed and each depends upon the existence of the other. Kawate deferred to the promptings of his Kami and began a period of mediation. Building himself a small place of

9. *Comparative Religion* (Penguin Books, 1958), p. 199.

mediation (*hiromae*^a), he began to mediate between Kami and those who sought his help. During this period he several times changed the name of the numinous power which he worshipped. He insisted that the Kami came to him because of his faith and belief and not as the result of logical introspection or philosophical speculation. He has said, "I have not sought him."

Thus as his insight deepened and he grew more confident of his spiritual abilities, he employed the name Tenchi Kane no Kami from 1873 onward as the supreme object of his devotion. *Tenchi*^b is "heaven and earth," "universe" or "cosmos"; *kane*^c is the ideogram for "*kin*" or "*kon*" or "*kane*," meaning either "gold," "metal" or "money." But none of these different readings are carried over into Konkō-kyo thought. The character "*kane*" was incorporated into the name of the founder's Kami because it was the name of the Shinto shrine (Kane no Jinja)^d that lay adjacent to the home in which he was reared. He had received sustenance in his spiritual quest from the ministration of the shrine and retained the word in his designation of Kami as a token of gratitude. But more important, according to one Konkō teacher, "*kane*" is related to "*kaneru*,"^e meaning to "combine," "possess" or "include." Thus, while the character remains the ideogram for "gold," "metal" or "money," it relates itself to a word of similar pronunciation which conveys the meaning of "include." This symbol had also been long used in writing the name of Konjin which has and still causes a great deal of confusion and misunderstanding for the followers of Konkō-kyō. It is used also for the "*kon*" of Konkō-kyō and, if it has any meaning at all, it is the "golden

a. 広前 b. 天地 c. 金 d. 金乃神社 e. かねる

light " which dawns upon the believer who has found Tenchi Kane no Kami to be the "Parent Kami of the Great Universe."

With the name of his Kami settled Kawate turned to other matters. He soon brought upon himself the opposition of official circles for his repeated maligning and repudiation of the calendar. In order to mitigate misunderstanding of his teaching he made application to the government to become a Shinto priest. The request was granted in 1867. But with the reorganization of religious affairs, which was effected by the Tokyo authorities in 1872, by which both Buddhist and Shinto priests were utilized in the system of popular religious and educational propaganda fostered by the Ecclesiastical Board (Kyōbu Shō^a), Kawate refused to become a member of the approved priesthood.

He was permitted, however, under government protection to continue teaching publicly in Okayama prefecture. His life came to a peaceful end after twenty-five years of declaring the Way. On September 26, 1883, he said, "Why has Kami chosen me, an unlettered farmer, to be the founder of such a high and noble company of believers?" Two weeks later he was taken into the spirit world, but before he died he promised that he would go wherever he was called by his followers who had already reached out beyond the borders of the land of Kibi.

Mediation

The "Reminder of Heaven and Earth" or "memo" quoted at the beginning of the article finds a place of honor in every Konkō home and calls the believer to the remembrance of his mediator, his Kami and his faith. It remarkably demonstrates

a. 教部省

the relationship of these three elements in the believer's faith-life by calling to his remembrance through Ikigami Konkō Daijin that it is to Tenchi Kane no Kami that one prays, at the same time keeping in mind that the divine favor depends on one's own heart.

We can go into only the first of these relationships because of the limits of space. Through the founder, Tenchi Kane no Kami declared for the first time in man's long history his intention to lift men "sunk in the depth of agony and revive them in the world of divine favor through Konkō Daijin's mediation."¹⁰ The term which describes this function is *toritsugi*^a or "mediation." There is no term in English that adequately describes it although the above comes closest to it. A maid makes *toritsugi* when she announces to the master that a guest has arrived; or the guest will ask the maid to make *toritsugi* for him to her master. In Konkō-kyō the term expresses a two-way relationship in which both Kami and man meet in mediation; the terms "Living Kami" (*Ikigami*^b) and mediation are equated.

When man becomes a living Kami it follows that he becomes an agent of mediation between Kami and man. In this sense, Kami becomes man and man becomes Kami. It is this act of mediation which is performed both by priest and layman. Every priest is a mediating priest who sits at the mediating desk in the sacred hall to transmit the way of understanding to those who seek. The founder spent twenty-five years in mediation in Konkō village and the present spiritual head of Konkō-kyō,

a. 取次 b. 生神

10. *Konkō Outline*, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

KONKO-KYO: A RELIGION OF MEDIATION

a grandson of the founder, has spent each day from 4:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. for the past sixty-six years at the mediating desk. Because he carries the responsibility for 700,000 believers, the present superintendent priest, Konkō Setsutane,^a better known by his followers by the term of high respect, Konkō Sama,^b was chosen by a group of scholars in the *Bungei Shunjū*^c (July, 1960) as one of the ten most influential religious leaders in Japan. Some of the others were Tatsuo Doi,^d Cardinal of the Catholic Church, Hinsuke Yashiro,^e Bishop of the Anglican Church, Shōzen Nakayama,^f head of Tenri-kyō,^g Ryūmyō Tsunawaki,^h head of Nichirenⁱ and Konkō Setsutane, the kindly octogenarian who was noted for his zeal, consecration and devotion.

Because Kami and man became one, it remains no longer necessary to pray directly to Tenchi Kane no Kami. It is, indeed, less difficult to pray when prayer is directed to the person of him who mediates. It is easier to direct prayer to the "divine movement" or "principle" of the founder or of the other great men who make up the Konkō-kyo pantheon of "Living Kami." It is recorded that the founder prayed to those who came to him as well as to his family for they were people filled with the "divine movement." The founder's life was a preparation for mediation. His call from Tenchi Kane no Kami was a call to mediation between Kami and man. He was to serve in this capacity not as a wise and kindly counselor but as the direct representative and substitute of the Kami. He himself was the bearer of the "divine will." His purpose and

a. 金光摂胤

b. 金光様

c. 文芸春秋

d. 土井辰雄

e. 八代鍼助

f. 中山正善

g. 天理教

h. 綱脇竜妙

i. 日蓮

those who followed him was to bring mankind to a correct understanding of and a right relationship to the will of Kami. And thus from early morning to late at night he mediated and his practical solutions based upon a long spiritual pilgrimage brought thousands to his counsel. "Deliverance through meditation" became the means of his communication and from it all later-day adherents of Konkō-kyō have taken their cue.

The act of mediation is no longer the act of man, but much more of Kami himself. This form of mediation determines the relationship between priest and people and forms the creative character of Konkō teaching. As people are helped in their search for the meaning of life, there arises between them and the mediator "a warm sympathy, a stream of warm love like blood which courses through the body." For the founder has said that all were to receive the favor of Tenchi Kane no Kami through him. Because of Konkō Daijin, the scriptures say, Kami is known to the world. Both Kami and his children owe a debt of gratitude to the founder. Therefore, "do not act contrary to the words of Konkō Daijin, but keep them well and have faith. In time of need it is not necessary to call upon Tenchi Kane no Kami; ask only for Konkō Daijin's help and he will bestow his favor."¹¹

The founder was the first to have received from Kami the information (*shirase*^a) that man lives within his own destined cycle (*meguri*^b) and needs only to break out of it to know the principle and the movement of the universe. Anyone can receive it, but it was the founder to whom this news first came.

a. しらせ b. めぐり

11. *Kyōten*, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

KONKO-KYO: A RELIGION OF MEDIATION

It is no longer necessary to receive this information directly from Kami. Since the founder announced the Way, it can be had from mediation. Thus people today who are seeking wealth, health, and ennobled personality will seek through mediation the knowledge of the way of life. This knowledge and understanding brings bodily health, spiritual peace and mental happiness. In a passage describing the founder's life as mediation the theologians of Konkō-kyō have said:

The founder who was called upon to devote himself to the divine work, appropriated one of the rooms in his residence to "the hall of the divine presence" where he sat as "Kami's Intermediary," living an assiduous life devoted to prayer and preaching for twenty-five years. He expounded earnestly the way of truth which he especially called "the path of salvation by the word." He denied all superstition and all belief in good and evil days and good and evil directions. By explaining how heaven and earth are man's eternal home, he taught the doctrine of true faith, bestowed the divine favor on those who prayed to the Kami for mercy, relieved them of misery and anguish and showed them that it was in their power to lead full and happy lives. Thus setting himself the task of accomplishing the divine word, the founder finally attained the rank of Ikigami, "the living Kami," who though in the flesh, is one with God, and was given by God, the divine name, Ikigami Konkō Daijin, the Living Kami, Konkō Daijin.

Having received the message of establishment, Bunjirō Kawate became the mediator between Tenchi Kane no Kami and his children. Though he was born a simple farmer and was barely able to read and write, he was the first, according to his followers, to have recognized the profound and intimate relation between Kami and mankind and the first to have explained the true pathway of life in the great universe. According to his new belief, he gave clear and perfectly reasonable explanations about the absurdity of the superstitions regarding days, months, years, directions and aspects which affected those who came

to him. The divine virtue of the Parent Kami had existed from the beginning of time, said his devotees, but no one has "explained this reasoning clearly enough to make the life of this world peaceful." But as the founder has explained in the scriptures it is easy to find this way, "Simply say, 'Konkō Daijin, save' and the plea will surely be answered."

The followers of Bunjirō Kawate have been remarkably true to his teaching. The home of the Konkō religion in the village of Konkō in Okayama remains the place of mediation for the founder and the place to which the followers and believers bring their requests. In each of the 1,600 local churches (*kyōkai*^a) there is for each a priest who sits both day and night within the place of mediation as the direct representative of the founder. No matter what kind of man the mediator may be in his private life, his explanations are heeded when he speaks as Kami's substitute. On the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Konkō religion in 1959 the present head of Konkō-kyō gave to the tens of thousands of pilgrims from all over Japan, from Hawaii and North America, who came to celebrate the grand festival of the centennial, a message which displays the very genius, and perhaps even the success, of this new expression of an old religion. Speaking before the multitudes he said:

I am very grateful to have conducted the service today for the grand festival dedicated to the founder and the Centennial Anniversary of the founding of our religion. It is a matter of gratitude that a way has been opened for Ikigami Konkō Daijin's mediation thereby making it possible for Kami and men alike to be saved and to exist and that boundless blessing has been bestowed upon us these 100 years. We must here in a renewed state of mind understand Kami's will shown

a. 教会

KONKO-KYO: A RELIGION OF MEDIATION

in the 1859 Revelation and get the blessings whereby we can practice Konkō-kyō's teaching. In this connection I sincerely wish that the "Movement for the Realization of Toritsugi and Training Faith" will be more eagerly pushed forward; that new blessings be given on each new day upon our personal welfare and upon the functioning of the church and the management of the whole organization; that all of us contribute more to the happiness and welfare of mankind. I hope you will share my wishes and cooperate.

— 終 —

A VISIT TO THE SOKA GAKKAI HEADQUARTERS*



Noah Brannen

Walking in the rain I found the headquarters of Sōka Gakkai† a few steps from Shinanomachi Station on the Chūō Line. I had the card of the student department chief, Watanabe,^a to present, but even with this there was a considerable bustling to-and-fro and a brief wait at the entrance before I was ushered into the large reception room. The room was not especially impressive, with its old-fashioned overstuffed chairs, a huge painting of two tigers in Chinese style filling one wall, and on the other, large framed pictures of Tsunesaburō Makiguchi^b the founder, and Jōsei Toda,^c his successor, over the mantelpiece. Here I was introduced to Morita, whom Watanabe referred to as *sensei*^d (teacher). When he handed me his card I learned that he was Kazuya Morita,^e a trustee and assistant office-manager of the headquarters for the Sōka Gakkai.

I introduced myself as a Christian missionary engaged in research on the Sōka Gakkai and the Nichiren Shō faith. Though it was obvious that both men were busy and my visit had been unexpected, they treated me with utmost courtesy. And, in spite of the fact that I made my purpose clear—namely, that I was merely studying their faith for the purpose of information and had no intention of becoming a believer—they

a. 渡辺 b. 牧口常三郎 c. 戸田城聖 d. 先生 e. 森田一哉

* June 16, 1960, from noon till 3:00 o'clock

† 6-32 Shinanomachi, Shinjuku Ku, Tokyo.

A VISIT TO THE SOKA GAKKAI HEADQUARTERS

were very cooperative. It soon became apparent that this question-answer session was for them another opportunity for conversion, this time with a Christian missionary as the object of attack. These two were ready with all the answers; and there were times when it appeared that the young student chief had the technique down a bit better than his superior.

Morita was cool and calm to the end; at each turn in the argument he showed that he was following me and fully in sympathy with my point of view. Watanabe, the youth, however, whenever there was an opening, tried to clench the argument and press upon me the necessity of decision. Morita's technique is called by the Sōka Gakkai, the persuasion (*shōju*^a) method. Watanabe used the more familiar method of name-calling and browbeating (*shakubuku*^b)

Watanabe had on the tip of his tongue pet phrases in criticism of Christianity: "In Christianity you study forever but never reach the answer." "Christianity has only a small infinitesimal part of the great truth revealed by the Great Holy One (*Dai Shōnin-sama*^c), Nichiren." "Christianity is low-class religion" "Christianity is striving for the same goal of happiness as we are, but it ends in study—Christianity has no vehicle to take you to the goal." "We are happy; Christians are all mixed up." "Christianity divides man into spirit and body, but the Great Holy One revealed that the body and mind are one." "Christianity has only thought, no power; but the Nichiren Shō faith has valiant power."

Morita, slowly and deliberately, in mild and unhasty sentences, explained that he never spoke ill of Christianity, but that he

a. 摂受 b. 折伏 c. 大聖人様

A VISIT TO THE SOKA GAKKAI HEADQUARTERS

was sorry that I could be content with such a partial religion, when Buddhism contains the ultimate truth.

Some of my questions and their answers paraphrased were as follows :

Q I have heard that there are three tenets of your faith, called the *flesh*,^a the *word*,^b and the *form*.^c Would you please explain these to me?

A Certainly. The *flesh* represents Nichiren, the Great Holy One, who is the Real Buddha.^d He is the Great Object of Worship.^e He existed before all buddhas and is the only power which has efficacy in the period of the Latter Law.* The *word* is the Lotus Sutra^f the only Buddhist sutra which has any relationship to us in the period of the Latter Law. The *form* is the wooden *mandala*,[†] written by Nichiren and

a. *niku* 肉 b. *kotoba* 言葉 c. *katachi* 形 d. *honbutsu* 本仏 e. *Dai Gohonzon-sama* 大御本尊様 f. *Hoke-kyō* 法華經

* Various Mahayana sutras divide Buddhist history differently in respect to the effectiveness of the Law (*dharma*). Among these the commonest division is five hundred years for the first, one thousand years for the second, and ten thousand for the third. Nichiren taught that the first, the period of the Upright or True Law (*Shōbō* 正法), began in 949 B.C., that is, the supposed date of Sakyamuni's death according to Chinese chronology; that the second, the period of the Image or Copied Law (*Zōbō* 像法), began a thousand years later, that is, at about the beginning of the Christian era or at the approximate beginning of Mahayana Buddhism; and that the third, the period of the Decadence or Destruction of the Law (*Mappō* 末法), which is said to last for ten thousand years or perhaps forever, began in 1052 A.D. Ed.

† A *mandala* (*Skt.*) or *mandara* (*Jap.*) is a diagrammatic representation of a Buddhist or Hindu conception of the cosmos. In some cases it is a picture of buddhas and bodhisattvas. In others these are represented symbolically, usually by Sanskrit letters. In the Nichiren *mandala* the names are written in Japanese with the Sacred Title of the Lotus Sutra, *Namu Myōhō-renge-kyō*, written down the center. The *mandala* of the Nichiren Shō faith, which is believed by its devotees to have been written on a wooden slab by Nichiren himself, is called *ita honzon*, that is, the wooden (*ita* 板) object of worship (*honzon* 本尊). Ed.

A VISIT TO THE SOKA GAKKAI HEADQUARTERS

enshrined, at Taisekiji.^a It is this wooden *manḍala* which contains the spirit of the Real Buddha, the Great Holy One. The wooden *manḍala* contains the spirit of Nichiren.

Q Why is it so important to believe in Nichiren? Wouldn't someone else do as well?

A No one but Nichiren has the power to save in the present dispensation.

Q I can respect Nichiren. As a man he had courage and stood up for his convictions. But why do I have to depend on him or any man for my salvation?

A Nichiren is the Buddha.^b He has saving power, and he alone has saving power.

Q Didn't Nichiren study from Sakyamuni?

A Yes, but Sakyamuni's power is gone. Sakyamuni himself prophesied, in the Lotus Sutra, that he would have no power in the period of the Latter Law.

Q It is not so difficult to understand Nichiren's teachings—what he had to say about the truth, but why is it necessary to make Nichiren the object of belief?

A You're thinking as a Christian. You're concerned only with ideas. You think you can build your life on ideas. But you cannot receive happiness except through the Great Holy One, Nichiren.

Q What relation has Nichiren to me, an American?

A True religion is universal; true religion knows no race or country boundaries.

Q Why should I turn from the religion of my parents and from the great Christian tradition of America?

a. 大石寺 b. Hotoke 仏

A VISIT TO THE SOKA GAKKAI HEADQUARTERS

- A (Watanabe) Your parents and ancestors would want you to be happy, wouldn't they? If you gain the greatest happiness through worship of the *maṇḍala* your ancestors will rejoice with you.
- Q Why cannot I attain the same knowledge as Sakyamuni or Nichiren and earn my own salvation? Why do I have to depend on Nichiren's merit? Why cannot I acquire merit of my own?
- A In you are latent the ten worlds, but unless there is a cause to awaken the Buddha world^a in you, you will never attain buddhahood.^b Nichiren is the secondary cause (*en*^c), you are the efficient cause (*in*^d). Only when you touch him in faith is the dependent origination established, and the buddha world awakened in you.*
- Q What does all this have to do with the *maṇḍala*?
- A The *maṇḍala* is the manifestation of the truth which saves.
- Q Aren't you ascribing a great amount of power to a piece of paper?
- A A bank draft is a piece of paper, but no one denies its power. You cannot experience any truth until it has a relation to you. The *maṇḍala* is the way the truth is related to you. When Nichiren was about to die he left this so that we could attain this relation to him, because no longer could we have a direct relation to him. The *maṇḍala* represents the Great Holy One, Nichiren.
- Q But wouldn't just his words in the scriptures (*gosho*)^e be

a. *bukkai* 仏界 b. *jōbutsu* 成仏 c. 縁 d. 因 e. 御書

* This concept of dependent origination (*innen* 因縁) can be described as the relationship of the seed (*in*), the efficient cause, and the Sun (*en*), the secondary cause.

A VISIT TO THE SOKA GAKKAI HEADQUARTERS

sufficient?

A They are nothing but an explanation of the *maṇḍa'a*.

Q If you say this, then doesn't this make all the scriptures, and all the writings of the revered leader Toda of no importance?

A Yes.

Q And you say this is scientific?

A This is truly scientific.

Q But you are asking me to accept the *maṇḍala* without its explanation.

A One doesn't understand a thing and then accept it. It is just the reverse. This is true of all science. Science explains what is already in existence. You don't study electricity before you turn on a light. You don't examine all that went into making a train before you board it. (Watanabe) Christians never get on the train. They spend all their time studying how it is made. Hence, they never reach the destination—happiness. We are *happy*!

Q But the electric light was not simply explained by science after it already existed. Quite the reverse.

A That's why we believe in the Great Holy One, Nichiren—he made the light for us. We use it.
(Watanabe) Like the atomic bomb. Pha-a-a-ah! It burst and sent out its rays of destruction, The *maṇḍa'a* bursts around us and sends out its rays of light, and pha-a-a-ah! we are bathed in happiness!

Q It seems to me that the teachings of the Nichiren Shō faith are the same as those of Tendai.^a

^a 天台

A VISIT TO THE SOKA GAKKAI HEADQUARTERS

A They are. And this is the point at which many have been led astray. Tendai's teaching ended the dispensation of the Upright Law.*

Q Why doesn't study of Tendai have any benefit to us today?

A We are in the dispensation of the Latter Law, and the Great Holy One, Nichiren, is the True Object of Worship.

Q I have read *The Theory of Value*^a and Toda's explanation of how it is connected with the Nichiren Shō faith, but the connection seems weak and forced to me.

A That is because you are trusting to reason. You do not believe.

(Watanabe) Christianity is content with small benefits.

Q What about healing? Some believers promise healing, financial success and other temporal rewards.

A Doctors are necessary, but some are healed by belief in the Holy One, Nichiren. There are sicknesses that doctors cannot heal.

Q I understand that you promise a reward of "first belief,"^b—something received here and now as proof of the truth of your faith. I cannot accept this.

A You don't believe. If you taste the tea you will know its flavor.

(Watanabe) Christianity studies but never gets a drink of happiness. Without fail, one who believes will have proof in this world.

You must not separate rewards of this flesh and spiritual rewards. They are all one.

Q Is there any objection to my studying your faith even though

a. Kachi-ron 価値論 *b. shoshin* 初信

* See footnote on p. 57.

A VISIT TO THE SOKA GAKKAI HEADQUARTERS

I don't believe or promise to believe?

A No objection, but no possible use whatsoever.

(Watanabe) If you only would believe ; what a personal gain it would be to you yourself.

× × × × ×

Morita's conclusion : You have gone as far as study will take you. The step left for you to take now is belief. Only then will you have the answer you are seeking.

— 終 —

RELIGION AND MODERN LIFE II

Prepared by Yoshiro Tamura

(A report of three Round Table Conferences)

(Continued from Vol. I No. 4)

Note: The designations used to identify the religious tradition of the participants are as follows: B—Buddhist, (Jōdo [j], Nichiren [n], Shin [s], Shingon [sg], Zen [z], C—Christian, both Catholic [c] and Protestant [p], S—Shinto sects (Fusō-kyō [f], Misogi-kyō [m]), SS—Shrine Shinto, O—Others (Konkō-kyō [k], Seichō-No-Ie [s], Tenri-kyō [t], World Messianity [m])

V. Modernization of Japan and Religion

In discussing modernization, a sharp contrast appeared between Shinto and Buddhism, which have grown up within the Japanese tradition, and Christianity, which was introduced into this country with a background of the Western civilization.

The Modernization of Japan

SS The modernization of Japan seems to mean basking in the Western rational, scientific spirit. I think that it is very important for us to understand clearly the defects in such a spirit and for Japan not to be spoiled by them.

SS Since the Meiji era stress has been laid on human reason and phenomena have been grasped from the standpoint of the independent subjectivity (*shutai-sei*)* of man. Consequently, the kami are nothing but a mental phenomenon. However, such an idea has never existed in traditional Shinto.

* The term *shutai-sei* (主体性) is translated "independent subjectivity" to distinguish it from *shukan-sei* (主観性) which is translated "subjectivity." The term *shutai-sei* apparently has reference to Martin Buber's concept of "I-ness," or "I-consciousness." Ed.

I think that it was the Japanese classical scholars, who appeared in the latter days of the Tokugawa shogunate, that clarified this subject. We should wrestle with the ancient Shinto again and sense the breath of the ancient kami. I think that this is the form which a renaissance of Shinto may take.

C_c I stated that modernization implies two ways. One is right modernization in which the authority of God or some religious authority is firmly established and, thereby, all worldly matters are dealt with rationally. The other is wrong modernization in which God or religion's authority is denied and earthly matters are regarded as absolute and become irrationalized and authoritative, although seeking rationality or equality. I wonder if the wrong modernization was introduced to Japan. In order to deal with this world in a thoroughly scientific and rational manner God or religion's authority should be established. In this sense modernization can be said to be the establishment of religion's authority in society. In Japan modernization has taken the position of denying this. I think that this is a wrong kind of modernization and a misuse of it.

C_p In Japan modernization is not fully realized and the individual awakening or social consciousness bears no fruit. Therefore, the criticism of modernization that has arisen in the West cannot be applied to this country. If it were applied, it would cause Japan to become reactionary and would result in a return to the pre-modern. In the West criticism of modernization has arisen after its complete assimilation.

B_z In the case of Europe the modern age came after over-

coming the pre-modern age. Today the time has come when the modern age is to be overcome. Japan became modernized in one leap by borrowing European modernization. Therefore her pre-modernity is not yet overcome but remains as it was. I think that in this sense modernization has not yet been realized in Japan.

If Japan were to overcome the modern age which has arisen in Europe, it would fall into an anachronism and at worst would return to pre-modernity. In Japan it is necessary to clear away pre-modernity before overcoming modernization.

B_z The Japanese people have a tendency toward pseudo-rationalism which treats the kami or buddhas with contempt. However, the idea of overcoming modernization is being introduced. This seems to complicate the problem, because in the process of modernization the Japanese have become aware of its defects.

C_c I think that in the case of Japan it is necessary to discriminate between irrational and super-rational things. This means that we should break through or rationalize pre-modern, irrational things first, and then approach the super-rational. I feel that there is a danger of concealing the irrationality of Japanese life under the name of overcoming the modern age.

B_s The irrationality of Japan may be a defect, but the people have been satisfied with it from ancient times. This irrationality seems to have something useful for the West.

B_z Christians seem to have a dogma that Western civilization or Christianity is the highest in the world. I think that you should frankly learn the Japanese climate and Shinto customs.

S_f I should like to have both the Christians and Buddhists take another look at the reason why even at present we can be contented with the faith of irrational Shinto. In human society there are many things which cannot be treated rationally. As human life is rationalized and modernized, the human mind seeks the irrational. So I think that those who cry for rationalism do not understand this character of human beings.

C_p I have introduced you to a certain literary critic's view that modernization has six phases, (1) the political phase (democracy), (2) the economic phase (capitalism), (3) the industrial phase (factory production, mechanization), (4) the educational phase (compulsory education), (5) the military phase (a national army), and (6) the consciousness phase (individualism). I think that the most important questions for Japan are democracy and individualism, which Japan failed to realize after the Meiji Restoration. Although the other phases of modernization in Japan have progressed as in the leading countries of Europe, these two have not yet been successful. I think that the reason for this is that these two are human problems which cannot be brought about in a short time. Because Japan after the Meiji Restoration tried to become a modern country as quickly as possible, these phases have been left unfinished and the country has become crippled.

In regard to the election system, although it is modernized, in regard to mutual relations, which should support and maintain the system, there remain very pre-modern elements, such as the boss-gang system. For example, we often hear

that in the country bosses are so influential that they direct the villagers how to cast their votes. Also in the other phases, the economic, industrial, educational, and so forth, in so far as man is responsible for them, problems remain. In short, Japan is not yet completely modernized in regard to human beings and this means that modernization is not yet entirely established.

- C_c As a familiar example of Japanese pre-modernity, there is the feudalistic human relationship found in the Japanese family system. Of course, there is some virtue in this and some Christians think that this virtue should be adopted. But, while the virtue itself is alright, it is an obstacle to the discovery of individual personality. Japanese religious leaders are apt to regard this virtue in the same light as virtue or love in a religious sense. Here-in may be found the anachronism or conservativeness of Japanese religionists.

Modernization and the Emperor System

- C_c The emperor system in Japan is one of the major problems in the modernization of this country. The original Japanese emperor system may have been different in its character from the absolute monarchies seen in Europe. The emperor system, however, was made into something like an absolute monarchy by the Meiji government and was solidified into a kind of ideology.

In Europe this idea of absolute monarchism was destroyed by the bourgeois revolution and has become a thing of the past; but in the process of modernization the former absolute monarchism of Europe was introduced into Japan,

and this was applied to the emperor system, which is continuing till today. Monarchism still remains in England also, but it is remarkably different from the former absolute monarchism.

I believe that Japanese modernization and the emperor system are inseparable problems and yet an important matter for Japanese religions. What do the Shinto members think about this point?

SS It was in the postwar period that the emperor system began to be much discussed. In the pre-war days, the system was spontaneously merged into our lives and never discussed. Anyway, I suppose that a half of the present Shinto priests approve of the emperor system and the other half do not.

From the viewpoint of Shinto it is a common idea that the Emperor is a kami. Because human beings themselves are born from Musubi-no-kami^a (the kami of birth and growth), and are all endowed with the kami nature, they are kami. From the historic viewpoint and in respect to his true character, the Emperor is regarded as possessing a higher sanctity than we do.

B_z Why do you regard the Emperor as a higher existence?

SS Because the Emperor was destined to be the lord of Japan from the time of the Sun Goddess.

Chairman In other words, the historic status of the Emperor is approved, isn't it.

S_m The relation of the Emperor to us is something like the relation between a head family and its branches.

S_f We feel an intimacy toward the Emperor like we feel to-

^a. 産霊神

ward our head family. In this sense I agree with the provision of the Constitution which states that the Emperor is regarded as a symbol.

Chairman I think that such an idea is the standpoint of the former State Shinto. I know some people have the idea that Shrine Shinto should definitely be freed from its chauvinism and ideology and become a religion now. What do you think about it?

S_f From the standpoint of Sectarian Shinto, I think that it would be better for Shrine Shinto to be what it was.

SS After World War II Shrine Shinto underwent a great change. However, from the viewpoint of Sectarian Shinto, Shrine Shinto seems to be lacking in the character of religion, and Shrine Shinto itself is not able to become the same as Sectarian Shinto. So I think that Shrine Shinto had better maintain its pre-war status.

S_m Our Sectarian Shinto exists as a religion. Therefore, Shrine Shinto should remain as it was in order to keep its ideological position. It is not necessary for it to become a religion.

Chairman At one time the Japanese state developed for several centuries around the Emperor and at the end of the Edo period this idea was stressed. It was then that Shinto developed with the Emperor as its center. This resulted in the establishment of State Shinto. However, there is also the spontaneous, natural Shinto, that is, the folk religion, which has existed from ancient times. Now, in connection with the separation of Shrine Shinto and State Shinto, which do you mean, a return to folk Shinto or do you mean for

RELIGION AND MODERN LIFE II

Shinto to become a world religion. This would be a worthy question to consider.

C_p It may be said that religions were reduced to obscurity by the establishment of the Emperor system. In Japan, the politicians did not understand religion. On the contrary, they tried to utilize it. Therefore, Buddhism and the other religions could not exert their proper influence in this country.

In Europe, the establishment of fundamental human rights in politics, for example, was developed by religion. Therefore, it can be said that politics in Europe was oriented from a broad religious standpoint. This is not the case in Japan.

C_p The idea in Europe is that the state or the government is not absolute but temporal.

When Hirobumi Itō^a drew up the Meiji Constitution, he said that in Europe Christianity had been the norm or the axis of its constitutions but that Japan had nothing like that and, therefore, he had set up the Emperor as the axis. I think that herein lies the special character of the Japanese understanding of religion.

In Japan, the lofty nature of religion is not recognized. The power of the state lays hold of the life of human beings. In modern Europe this phenomenon occurred in some places; and it was this that was welcomed and further developed, and finally led to the modernization of this country. From this viewpoint, I think that Japanese modernization in its true sense, or religious modernization, lies in the recovery of the territory proper to religion.

Chairman Buddhism did not confront Japanese authoritarianism

a. 伊藤博文

but rather supported it. What was the reason for this?

Chairman Ancient Japan was not yet ready to accept the dynamic, broad, world view and so Buddhism was obliged to merge itself with Japanese customs. In order to be assimilated, of course, Buddhism had to possess this potential. I think Buddhism, which was introduced into Japan at that time, had an assimilable nature. The introduction of Buddhism into Japan was made through China, where it had been merged with the Chinese social status system. If it had been introduced directly from India, it might not have compromised, and hence might not have been assimilated.

The Modernization of Japanese Religions

O_k It is said that Japan was modernized after the Meiji Restoration, but this modernization was not achieved by itself. Japan fell into the illusion of being modernized merely by the transplantation of Western culture, because this country was too hasty to overtake the senior countries of the West. In regard to Japanese religions, however, modernization in its true sense seems to lie in emancipation from magic, liberation from the power of the state, and the abolition of authoritarianism.

C_p What impresses us about Japanese religions is that they are lacking in a consciousness of social problems or the social structure. I think the modernization of Japanese religions lies in having such a consciousness. In this direction Japanese religions should go for modernization.

B_j Japan's "new religions" look modernized in their form, but the contents of many seem to be as old as ever. The

doctrines are preached in connection with the emperor system or the family system. They are also rich in magic.

B_s How do the Shinto participants think about the universality of Shinto?

SS As a rule, as man settled down a religion or kami concerned with the race or the state was devised.

C_p If so, does this mean that in America there is an American kami and in England an English kami?

SS Yes. But I think that they should not be in a state of rivalry like local barons or be opposing each other's understanding. They should have a common universality in keeping the special interest of each.

During the wartime, Shinto energetically advocated the principle of "the eight corners of the world under one roof" (*Hakkō-Ichi-ū*^a, that is, "the universe-is-one principle"). However, this meant neither that the Japanese Emperor should be the sovereign of the world, nor that shrines should be built everywhere to paint all things with a Shinto color. It meant that each should be independent.

C_p Then, does this mean that a religion should be rooted in a race or a country. If so, how could Christianity or others religions exist in Japan?

SS I think that so-called Japanized Christianity is desirable in this country. If Buddhism had remained as primitive Indian Buddhism, it would not have been prosperous in Japan.

B_j Don't you think it necessary for Shinto to change over from a racial religion to a universal religion?

SS As for me, I don't think it necessary. I don't agree,

a. 八紘一字

however, with racialism which advocates that only Japan should be saved and only Japan should be superior. I think a racial religion which has grown through the climate and the ancestral tradition of its country should have the universality to cope with the religions of the world. As Dr. Toynbee said, a racial religion will be able to naturally realize universality only if it has the factor to save the world. The term "world" of the so-called world religions does not mean that it spreads over the world.

C_p Today's Japan is being developed from a closed society to a society open to the world. In this regard the way of existence of past Japanese religions seems to be questionable. In the case of Christianity, on the contrary, it seems to be questionable how far it has penetrated Japanese society proper and taken root in it.

Chairman It can be said that in Europe, where Christianity exists, modernization has already been realized to a fair extent and that it is not taken up as a problem as frequently as it is by Japanese Buddhism and Shinto. As for Christianity in Japan today, adaptation to the Japanese climate is a more pressing problem than modernization.

C_c Because there was a rupture between the introduction of Kirishitan and that of Christianity after the Meiji Restoration Christianity may be said to be quite new to Japan. In this sense, adaptation to the Japanese climate is a very important matter for Christianity.

C_p In comparing Japanese Christianity and European Christianity, it is clearly understood how firmly the latter is established in its tradition. Japanese Christianity has not

yet taken root in Japan. We Japanese Christians have sometimes been envious of the indigenization of Japanese Buddhism!

C_c I feel that it is very difficult for Christianity to take root in the Japanese soil.

Chairman The time-honored Japanese Shinto and Buddhism, which has well over a thousand years of history in this country, may be an example, good or bad, for Christianity. However, Shinto and Buddhism must learn the meaning of modernization from Christianity.

C_p I think that up to the termination of the war Japan continued as a pseudo-religious state which, although it formally adopted the principle of the separation of church and state, actually stood for the unity of church and state and for the absolute respect of the Emperor. Rational thinking and respect for the individual were possible only within the community of a family system analogous to the state of the emperor system. Protestantism, which was introduced into Japan with the background of the civic ethics of Europe and America of the nineteenth century, may be said to be unsuitable to Japan.

C_p When we are looking at the rural scenery of Japan where the harvested sheaves of rice are placed in order, we cannot but have a feeling which combines the sad and the beautiful. We Christians also can understand that in Japan defeat is beautiful, not dreadful. Looking at such scenery, I wonder if Christian eschatology might be acceptable to the Japanese climate. If the Japanese people had received it, I think that Japan would change in quality to some extent.

SS Protestantism was taken over to America and, after being assimilated there, became American Christianity. Therefore, Christianity in Japan should also become Japanized. At this point Shinto and other indigenous religions ought to be helpful models.

B_j It will also be helpful to note that as Buddhism was Japanized and took root in the ground of this country to become a Japanese religion, it lost the aspect of a world religion.

E_n In the early years of Meiji, the Buddhists agitated for the expulsion of Christianity. They attacked Christianity for the reason that it was non-Japanese and irrational. Later, however, after reconsidering its position, Buddhists realized that religion should transcend racial characteristics or mere rationality.

Modernization and Europeanization

Chairman About the time that European civilization was introduced into Japan and "civilization and enlightenment" was glorified, the word "modern" seems to have been used to indicate a mixture of things Western and things Christian. Around 1887—1897, however, the people seemed to discover the fact that the problem of modernization or Westernization was not in point of fact the same as Christianization. Recently, the question has been very widely considered as to whether modernization can be distinguished from Westernization. If this is possible, then the question will arise as to whether the modernization of Buddhism can take place without its Westernization?

B_{sg} The opponents of Westernization seem to insist upon Japanese modernization which does not include Westernization. It may become necessary to clarify what such modernization is.

C_p I think that there is a common element in Westernization, modernization, and things Christian. In a word, it is democracy. In other words democracy, which is a special feature of Westernization or modernization, is backed by Christianity. The family system or the feudal structure in Japan, however, has been supported by the indigenous religions.

In Japan today democracy, as it appears in Westernization and modernization supported by Christianity, and the feudalism, supported by the past Japanese society and religions, are clashing with each other and are creating a whirlpool.

Chairman Trying to discriminate between things Western and things modern seems to be a evidence that the Japanese people intend to modernize themselves as Japanese. This means that the Japanese people are to wrestle with modern rationalism which is involved in things Western, instead of accepting those things as they are. This may be possible only in Japan and can hardly be understood by Europeans. This may also be said to be a demand of the Japanese.

— To be Continued —

REVIEWS

Religious Studies in Japan (2)

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Tokyo: Maruzen Company, Ltd., 1959, pp. 507, ¥2,500.*

Having already considered those articles which deal with particular religions, we turn now to the articles which may be described generally as having a methodological motif.

Professor Teruji Ishizu,^a who has served as chairman of the board of editors for the entire volume, shows in the opening article that valid communication of truth in Buddhism is done only in the teacher-disciple relationship. We are prone to ask what this means for the researcher, interested in Buddhism, who cannot or does not choose to be involved in such a relationship. In other words, is Buddhism understandable only to the devotee?

Professor Hideo Kishimoto^b has contributed a helpful paper in general terms on the meaning of religion to the Japanese people. Professor Nobukiyo Nomura's report on the results of psychological tests given to Protestant pastors, Shinto priests, and people with no religious affiliation, is a fascinating survey of varying attitudes. Professor Ichirō Hori's^d study of "the phenomenological development of the Pure Land School" is remarkable for its clarity and its insightful presentation in brief compass of the major trends of Nara and Heian Buddhism. Professor Hiromasa Ikegami's^e study of the role of mountains in Japanese religions, and Professor Sojun

a. 石津照鹽 b. 岸本英夫 c. 野村錫清 d. 堀一郎 e. 池上広正

Moroto's^a analysis of the origins of ancestor worship in China, round out a group of essays which the reviewer would group together (although they are not grouped together in the book), as clear systematic studies on religious phenomena which unquestionably extend the bounds of our knowledge.

In two of the above-mentioned papers, however, there are the most curious statements regarding Christianity. Professor Kishimoto says: "The spread of Christianity is like an overwhelming flood. It wipes out everything." One wonders if the Christian movement in Japan has been so insensitive to culture? At another point he speaks of introspection in order to change one's attitude toward the world and its problems as a Buddhist manner of life which is in contrast to Western religious tradition. Has Christianity in Japan been so activist that its great mystical tradition, its historic insistence on the rigorous searching of one's soul, its pattern of quiet expectancy before the Lord, have gone unnoticed? Although an affirmative answer is possible to both

questions, it is also quite likely that observers have seen only one side of a many-sided movement.

In referring to the failure of Christianity to be synthesized with the culture of Japan, Professor Ikegami says that "no new sects of Christianity have been established by the Japanese." Is not the Non-church (*Mukyōkai*) movement in actuality such a sect, in spite of that group's distrust of any form of organization?

Messrs. Katayama,^b Kusunoki,^c Nishitsunoi,^d and Niyeda^e write a series of papers dealing with the philosophy of religion. Professor Masahiro Kusunoki, in dealing with Scheler and Mensching on the problem of man in religions, makes some very keen observations on misery and deliverance as conceived in Buddhism. Professor Masayoshi Nishitsunoi's brilliant discussion of science and myth as the major problem of our time ends with a proposal of *śūnyatā* as a possible perspective. He unfortunately gives only a few lines of his last paragraph to his proposal, so we hardly know what he has in mind. And

a. 諸戸素純 b. 片山正直 c. 楠正弘 d. 西角井正慶 e. 仁戸田六三郎

Professor Rokusaburō Niyeda, who hopes to conceive a philosophy which will reconcile all the “contraries and contradictions” between East and West, admits: “This thesis is only a dream-like blueprint.”

Perhaps this is the point at which to deal with Professor Fumio Masutani's^a article on two types of faith in Buddhism, the thesis of which has already been presented in his comparative study of Buddhism and Christianity. The designation of Jōdo Shin faith as devotion to a person is demonstrable, but to depict faith in early Buddhism as “understanding through reason” is to subsume the vast panorama of early Buddhism under one rubric. *Dharma* is more than rational doctrine, and if one admits, as Professor Masutani does, that faith as devotion is a necessary prerequisite to faith as understanding, then how can faith as understanding, or reason, be descriptive of early Buddhism?

Perhaps it is a problem of translating very loaded terms. For example, Professor Yoshinori Moroi^b has a lot to say about faith in his

article on “believing”, but never mentions the word “trust” as one meaning of the word faith, and suggests “adventure” only in a footnote. And if Professor Ichi Oguchi^c would go on to spell out his methodological principle—“scientific understanding based on sympathy”—our studies of the faith of another might be more adequate.

We must mention a series of very competent papers in various fields: Messrs Shigeo Abe^d and Jōji Tanase^e discuss the problems of functional anthropology in reference to the work of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski. Professor Yoshinori Takeuchi^f delves into the subject of sacred time and space, Professor Kiyoto Furuno^g surveys the progress of French Roman Catholic sociology, and Professor Shōkō Odawara^h presents Kant's theory of symbols carefully and systematically. Professor Shinjō Takenakaⁱ provides us with an excellent survey of developments in the Psychology of Religion, and Professor Hitoo Marukawa^j does the same with the views of philosophers of

a. 増谷文雄 b. 諸井慶徳 c. 小口偉一 d. 阿部重夫 e. 棚瀬襄爾
f. 武内義範 g. 古野清人 h. 小田原尚興 i. 竹中信常 j. 丸川仁夫

REVIEWS

the Enlightenment on the Origin of Religion.

This reviewer has mentioned each of the articles in this symposium because each article has some merit, and all have been read with interest and profit. Those papers which have provoked critical comment are in some measure the best, and it is hoped that such comment will in turn encourage further effort to think and write about problems that are basic to our common task as students and interpreters of the world's religions.

We are completely overwhelmed by the breadth and detail of scholarship which is to be found in Japan. The competence in the use of numerous languages is nothing short of remarkable. The grasp of key figures and movements in Western thought by Japanese scholars leaves a Western student a bit ashamed as he thinks of the few Western scholars who have a similar grasp of Eastern thought. The concern by the men whose papers appear in this volume to understand and interpret their own religious traditions should be received by all

people with openness and receptivity, for such a concern in East and West will ultimately lead to the understanding we seek so desperately.

Interest in Japan and the East is increasing in America and in the West generally. Such volumes as *Religious Studies in Japan* help immeasurably to further this interest. Since so few people in the West have any knowledge of any Oriental language, we must plead (unfairly) for more translation and publication of Japanese works in English. For Japanese to write in English, or to arrange for translation, is difficult and tedious, and the financial reward is undoubtedly small, but works by Japanese scholars in English have made a tremendous contribution to scholarship throughout the world in the past, just as this volume and various others will make today. We say "*arigatō gozaimasu*," ("Thank you") with deep respect and appreciation for this volume, and with eager anticipation for other which shall follow.

Hong Kong Richard Bush

1961 Bukkyō Dai Nenkan 仏教大年鑑 (1961 Buddhist Year Book)

Tokyo: Bukkyō Dai Nenkan Kankō Kai 仏教大年鑑刊行会
(*Buddhist Year Book Publication Society*), 1960,
pp. 820, ¥1,500.

Publication of a Buddhist Year Book is a most well welcome event for the religious world of Japan. Here in the 820 pages which constitute this volume is to be found all the basic information needed to understand the structure and activities of Japanese Buddhism and much about Buddhism throughout the world. Much of the contents being devoted to directories, this can hardly be classed as "interesting reading," and yet at the beginning of each section is found a brief introduction which gives some insight into the nature of the activities, problems, attitudes, and actions of Buddhist leaders and organizations.

The first two sections—unfortunately the sections are not numbered—are devoted to general information about Buddhism in Japan (pp. 1—64) and throughout the world (pp. 66—112) with special attention to postwar developments, particularly the meetings of the World Fellowship of Buddhists, and

the Buddha Jayanti. Following these are sections devoted to the Buddhist denominations (pp. 120—220), and their subsidiary organizations (pp. 211—280), schools (pp. 281—338), kindergartens and nursery schools (pp. 339—414), social welfare institutions (pp. 415—450), cultural (pp. 451—514), political and economic (pp. 515—536) and legal (pp. 537—564) matters, a list of leaders in Japan (pp. 565—736) and overseas organizations and leaders (pp. 737—796), and finally statistics (pp. 797—820).

Anyone who wonders whether Buddhism is really dead, as some persons have been alleged to state, had better examine this volume. Incidentally, the advertisements are in some ways the most interesting part of the volume.

It is to be hoped that before long some enterprising organization will publish an English language edition with at least the most essential material found in this volume.

History of Christianity in Japan 1859—1908

Frank Cary

Tokyo, Kyo Bun Kwan, 1960 pp. 491 ¥400

Students of Christian history in Japan will welcome the publication of this handy volume of sketches which first appeared in the 1959 Protestant Centennial volume of the Christian Year Book. Throughout his many years in Japan Mr. Cary was a careful student of the Protestant church and collected an excellent library covering the early period of its history. In this volume he has presented more than a hundred three-to-four-page graphic sketches of significant leaders and events of the first half-century of Protestantism, many of which betray the personal touch of one in-

timately acquainted with those described. The weakness of the volume, for reference purposes at least, is the lack of an index. Dr. Darley Downs, Secretary of the Interboard Missionary Field Committee, writes in the Preface that "Mr Otis Cary of Amherst House, Do-shisha, has prepared an invaluable index which is added to the material," but it turns out that this is only a somewhat detailed table of contents and not an index. This is unfortunate because the material is valuable and should be made readily available to those who need to use it. (W.P.W.)

City Life in Japan: Life in a Tokyo Ward, by R.P. Dore

London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958

pp. 472 Index

There have been so many interesting and important books on Japan in recent years that it is difficult to select the ones to review in this journal. One of the best is "City Life in Japan," an intensive study

of a small area in Tokyo which the author designates by the fictitious name of "Shitayama Cho."

To accomplish his task, which was carried out between March and September 1951, the author, who is

REVIEWS

a British scholar of the University of London and is now a lecturer at the University of British Columbia in Canada, held a meeting with the officials of the local association and secured their agreement to assist him in his study. Following this he was introduced by one of the officials to the current head of each neighborhood group, who was asked to distribute to each of the households in his group a leaflet explaining the scope and purpose of the inquiry. At the same time a small towel was presented as a friendly gesture in initiating the study. Later he accompanied each of the university students on his staff on their first visit to each home.

In addition to information which the author was able to secure from the local food distribution office, (there was still rationing then) and interviews conducted at each household, one hundred suitable individuals over fifteen years of age were selected to give information on such questions as leisure time activities, education and bringing up of children, religious practices and attitudes, political attitudes and

employment.

Of a total of 325 households registered at the Food Office on February, 1951, three refused to cooperate and 25 could not be contacted because of removal or prolonged absences. Thus, the author received information from a total of 297 households. It is interesting to note that two of the three who refused to cooperate had no dealings with their neighbors and did not pay their dues to the local association. The third was a woman living with a mentally deficient brother, whose condition was too pitiful to warrant approaching her on the subjects being studied. In a fourth household the husband refused to cooperate because of resentment over postwar experiences in Malaya, but his wife was willing to answer questions in the absence of the husband.

The book is divided into five sections. Section I is a general Introduction. Section II discusses Standard of Living, including houses and apartments, family income and expenditure, health and security, progress and planning. Section III on the Family deals with the family

REVIEWS

system, the composition of the households, the concept of the "house," and husband-wife relationships. In Section IV on "The Wider World" such subjects are treated as political attitudes, education, leisure, neighbours and friends, and the ward. Section V concerns Religion and Morality, which includes main trends in religious development, the local and national community, family rites, the individual and the kami, present-day religious teachings, beliefs of the uncommitted and society and the individual. One section of the appendix discusses the forms and occasions of Buddhist altar worship, and one on "The Objects of Cults, Buddhism and Shinto, Kami and Hotoke."

The author has collected a great deal of data on the life of the city dweller and gives evidence of a very deep appreciation and understanding of Japanese life and contemporary attitudes. Moreover, he

has added a great deal to the knowledge of Western people about the Japanese people. Nevertheless, there are serious limitations in any attempt to understand the religious life of the people by the interview method which was employed. And although the book is objective and the approach is definitely an understanding one, it seems to this reviewer that it fails to make clear that the religious life in Japan is not to be understood so much in terms of belief in doctrines as in the observance of rites and practices and what may perhaps be best described as something of a mystical religious experience. Finally, no study made during the Occupation by a foreigner could possibly reveal typical conditions. The total situation was too abnormal for this.

In spite of these limitations, however, the author has made a definite contribution to our understanding of city life in Japan and placed the reader in debt to him. (WPW)

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS ?

Is Shrine Shinto a Religion ?

This is a very natural and at the same time a very important question. It will probably continue to be a question for several decades to come, if not longer,—certainly as long as the people educated in pre-war days survive, and probably as long as there are those who want to revive the pre-war status of shrines and the concomitant pre-war educational pattern based on Shinto.

The question is especially pertinent at this particular time because recently there has been a significant effort to devise some means to enable the government to grant special status to some or all Shinto shrines. However, unless the Constitution itself is revised, this probably can only be done by officially defining Shrine Shinto as outside the category of religion. Whether the Constitution should, or should not, be revised is, of course, a political question outside the purview of this journal; but whether Shrine Shinto is, or is not religion, or a religion, is something about which many, if not all, the readers are very deeply concerned. It is necessary, therefore, to give a somewhat detailed statement in order to clarify the subject.

In considering this question attention must be called at the outset to the fact that the Japanese conception of religion is not the same as the Occidental. Therefore, in reaching our conclusion we must not be limited by traditional Occidental ideas as to what constitutes religion. As Dr. Tetsuzō Tanigawa^a of Hōsei^b University stated in his discussion of *National Character and Religion* in the

a. 谷川徹三 b. 法政

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

June, 1960, issue of *Contemporary Religion in Japan*, "Occidentals, who regard Christianity as what a religion should be....." cannot understand Japanese religions because the "nature of our religions is different from Christianity." Then he added, "Shinto itself is different and so is Buddhism." If religion is to be defined solely in terms of the traditional Occidental concepts, then neither Buddhism nor Shinto can be called religions.

Moreover, it must be noted that like many other religions Shinto is "more than a religious faith." It is, as Dr. Sokyō Ono,^a lecturer of the national Association of Shinto Shrines, so aptly states in *The Kami Way**, "an amalgam of attitudes, ideas, and ways of doing things that through two milleniums and more have become an integral part of the *way* of the Japanese people." Dr. G. B. Sansom, the well-known authority on Japanese history and culture also partially describes this broader aspect of Shinto when he calls it "a complex of social and political ideas."[†] And Dr. Saburō Ienaga^b approaching the subject from a different angle, says elsewhere in this issue (p. 5) that Shinto is "an agricultural cult widely practiced in ancient societies all over the world" and describes it as "a culture and customs in which one is born and brought up." The important point is that the student should not be led astray by the emphasis on this general cultural aspect of Shinto; because, while there are of course differences in detail, what can be said of Shinto in this regard can also be said of Hinduism, Judaism, and Christianity, not to mention other religions.

With this difference in the concept of religion and the similarity in the part played by various religions in the social and cultural nexus of their respective cultures in mind, let us turn to the ques-

a. 小野祖教 b. 家永三郎

* Ono, Sokyō, *The Kami Way*, (Tokyo: International Institute for the Study of Religions, 1960), p. 3.

† Sansom, G. B., *The Western World and Japan*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1958), p. 482

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

tion of whether or not Shrine Shinto is a religion. And first of all let us ask what contemporary Shinto scholars in some well-known Shinto universities of Japan have to say on the subject.

Here we are fortunate to have two very recent English publications to consult. In a volume entitled *Religious Studies in Japan*,* which was prepared by the Japanese Association for Religious Studies for the Ninth International Congress for the History of Religions, there are three essays on Shintō. Dr. Masayoshi Nishitsunoi^a of Kokugakuin Daigaku, the well-known Shinto University in Tokyo, writing about the Hikawa and Katori shrines under the title "*Social and Religious Groups in Shinto*" refers to Buddhism and Shinto as "two religions," (p. 227) and calls the Tōshōgū Shrine at Nikkō a "*religious institution*." (p. 227) Then in the closing sentence he says that his essay deals only "with the distribution patterns of a traditional *religious* grouping in a single area." [The italics here as elsewhere in this discussion are editor's.]

In an essay on the "*Traditional Tendency of Shintonism and its New Theoretical Developments*," Assistant Professor Yoshio Toda^b of the same institution refers in one place to Shinto as "a theoretical religion" (p. 229) and in another as "a national religion" (p. 231); and Professor Toshiaki Harada^c of Kumamoto University, under the title "*The Origin of Community Worship*," states that the shrine festivals constituted mainly "prayer for a good harvest and blessing of the crop," which would appear to be ample proof that such were considered to be a religion. (Incidentally, it might well be asked, if there is any question as to whether Shinto is or is not a religion, why are Shinto scholars members of the Japanese Association of Religious Studies; and why is Shinto considered to be a religion by the International Association for the History of Religions?)

a. 西角井正慶 b. 戸田義雄 c. 原田敏明

* Japanese Association for Religious Studies and Japanese Organizing Committee of the Ninth International Congress for the History of Religions, (ed.) *Religious Studies in Japan*, (Tokyo: Maruzen Company Ltd., 1959).

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

In the *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress for the History of Religions** which met in Tokyo in October, 1958, we find a number of other pertinent statements. In a paper on "*The Concept of Kami*" Professor Motohiko Anzu^a of Kokugakuin University began with the statement that "The object of worship in Shinto, in other words, the divine in this *religion* is at the present day nearly always signified by the single word kami. (p. 218) Professor Toshiaki Harada began his paper on "*Symbol of Deity and Social Life*" with a reference to "The *religious* life of the agricultural village of Japan..... (p. 296); and Assistant Professor Naofusa Hirai^b of Kokugakuin University in discussing "*Fundamental Problems of Present Shinto*" refers to Shinto as an "indigenous and racial *religion*."

Outside the specific field of Shinto scholarship, opinions are the same. Dr. Hajime Nakamura^c of the Department of Indian Philosophy of Tokyo University, writing on *The Ways of Thinking of the Japanese People* in the above-mentioned *Proceedings*, refers to Shinto as "the native Japanese popular *religion*," (p. 573), and in an article in *Monumenta Nipponica* (Vol XIV Nos. 3—4, 1958—59 p. 64) he calls it a "tribal *religion*." Moreover, Dr. Hideo Kishimoto^d of the same institution in "*Religion in the Meiji Era*"† calls it the "Japanese polytheistic folk *religion*." Thus one could continue to quote numerous authorities to show that present day scholars of Japanese religions assume, usually without discussion, that Shinto is a religion.

But some one may very properly ask, "What about before the

a. 安津素彦 b. 平井直房 c. 中村元 d. 岸本英夫

* Compiled by the Japanese Organizing Committee for the Ninth International Congress for the History of Religions. *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress for the History of Religions*, (Tokyo: Maruzen Company Ltd., 1960).

† Kishimoto, Hideo (ed.) *Japanese Religion in the Meiji Era* (Tokyo, Ōbun Sha, 1956), p. 4.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

war?" And here, again, we must say that the situation was essentially the same then as now. In those days political pronouncements on this subject were generally avoided by scholars of religions. Only those that were the protagonists of the official government position were outspoken. While tacitly admitting that Shinto was a religion, they constantly maintained that shrines were primarily "national institutions indicating the object of national morality," that is, something transcending religion.

Professor Yoshio Ōishi^a of Kyoto University, an authority on constitutional law who has in recent years been one of the leading spokesmen for this position, while passing by the present legal status of shrines as private institutions, states that "Shrines have two aspects: they are state institutions which constitute the basis of national morality and they are also *religious* institutions. He argues, however, that "shrines cannot be explained simply as *religious* institutions, even though it must be admitted that they have a *religious* aspect." And he maintains that while "Shrine worship may be regarded as *religion* in so far as the worshippers take the enshrined deities as an expression of the Absolute, which serves as the foundation of their spiritual peace and enlightenment, if the state considers that Ise Shrine is for the guidance of the people in their national life from the standpoint of national morality, because it inculcates respect for the ancestors of the Emperor who is the symbol of the state, it is within its province to establish such facilities as may provide a standard of national morality."*

Dr. Sokyō Ono, as noted above, supports this position when he says in *The Kami Way* that "In its general aspects Shinto is more than a religious faith." Thus the position represented by these scholars is that in their national morality aspect shrines transcend

a. 大石義雄

* International Institute for the Study of Religions, Inc., *Bulletin* No. 7, (September, 1959), pp. 35, 38.

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

religion, but one of the most authoritative sources for that period, the *Shintō Encyclopedia* (1925) states somewhat guardedly that contemporary intellectuals regarded Shinto as "the morality or *religion* of the Japanese people;" but then goes on to say that Shinto is "a pure racial *religion* which has been transmitted from the age of the kami." The main emphasis of the *Encyclopedia* is, as would be expected, on the national morality aspect; but it is significant that even it could not ignore the religious character of Shinto.

Foremost among the pre-war Japanese scholars in this field of the history of religion was Dr. Genchi Katō,^a who occupied the chair of Shinto at Tokyo University from 1921 to 1931. In the foreword of his monumental *An Historical Study of the Religious Development of Shinto* (*Shintō no Shūkyō Hattatsu Shiteki Kenkyū*) published in 1923, Dr. Katō begins as follows:

"In that which we call Shinto there is State Shinto and Sectarian Shinto. State Shinto includes Kokutai Shinto, Shrine Shinto, and other kinds of Shinto. For me, after taking all these types of Shinto into consideration, all that is called "Shinto" without exception must be regarded as a type of *religion*. It is different from the so-called world religions, such as Buddhism and Christianity. It is not a foreign religion. Shinto is definitely a kind of *religion* that is unique to Japan."

In view of the position that Dr. Katō occupied in the educational world and of the fact that when he wrote these words the Japanese government was doing everything possible to convince people that Shrine Shinto was not a religion, these words are especially significant. Dr. Katō was not alone in maintaining this position, although he was perhaps more emphatic in stating it.

But, if someone pursues the historical point still further and asks about pre-Meiji Japan, the reply must still be the same. From the beginning of the Kamakura period until the Meiji Restoration and even later, shrines, temples, and related matters were treated as in the same general category. Not only were they under the over-all

a. 加藤玄智

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

supervision of one official, a Temple and Shrine Magistrate (*Jisha Bugyōa*), but they were also grouped together in various laws and edicts issued from time to time by the *de facto* feudal government.

Furthermore, to return to modern times, even after the Meiji Restoration there was for a long time a Shrine and Temple Bureau (*Shaji Kyokub*) in the Ministry of Home affairs. Indeed, it was not until 1912 that the Japanese government, after numerous administrative changes, finally succeeded *at the national level* in administratively separating shrines from other religions. But at the prefectural level the separation was never achieved. Until World War II there was a Shrine, Temple and Soldiers Affairs Official (*Shaji Heiji Kakari^c*) in every prefecture. Thus, it should be clear that, in spite of an attempted legalistic separation, Buddhist and Shinto institutions have all been regarded as having the same general nature; that is, they were religious institutions.

Why, then, did the government try to convince the people that Shrine Shinto was not a religion? This is an involved subject. Succinctly stated, the Meiji government wanted to give Shrine Shinto a preferred status and at the same time appear to pay full respect to the principle of religious freedom; but it could do this only by ignoring the fundamental religious character of shrines. The record is a long and complicated one that cannot be discussed here. Dr. Ichirō Hori^d of Tōhoku University summarizes the record briefly in *Japanese Religion in the Meiji Era*^{*}, where he states that "it is impossible not to recognize that Shinto is a religion," and adds that for the government to "claim that Shinto was not a religion was nothing more than a ruse."

Thus far, except for a brief mention in the introduction, nothing has been said regarding the attitude of foreign scholars. This is

a. 寺社奉行 b. 社寺局 c. 社寺兵事掛 d. 堀一郎

* Kishimoto, *op. cit.*, p. 94

QUESTIONS AND PROBLEMS

partly because the material available is too voluminous to handle adequately, but primarily because, in view of the preponderance of Japanese opinion supporting the position that Shrine Shinto is a religion, foreign opinion seems somewhat irrelevant. It may be well, however, to refer briefly to Dr. George B. Sansom's *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, in which he speaks of the "religion which came to be known as Shinto"as being "a polytheism of a crude exuberant type;" and then goes on to say that "the history of Shinto is a history of the development of.....inchoate ideas into an institutional religion."* Moreover, in his latest work, *A History of Japan to 1334*, he refers to Shinto as "an anonymous body of religious practices" and native religious usages."†

Actually, there can be no question as to whether or not Shinto, including Shrine Shinto, is a religion and, except for about three-quarters of a century during which the Japanese government attempted to make it a state cult transcending religion, it has always been so regarded. Had it not been for the political necessity of the Meiji government, probably the question would never have arisen.

In all fairness, however, it must be stated that many Japanese, who are deeply concerned about both the morale as well as the moral condition of their country, believe that, even though Shinto is a religion, it should none-the-less be made the basis of national morality and be given a preferred status. There is nothing reprehensible about this. Christians and Buddhists undoubtedly believe that their respective faiths should be in one way or another the basis for national morality and the establishment of righteousness in this country and in their special ways many are working toward the achievement of this goal. But this is a political problem which in no way affects the fact that Shinto, including Shrine Shinto, is and always has been a religion. (WPW)

* Sansom, G.B., *Japan, A Short Cultural History*, (Revised Edition, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1943), p. 25.

† Sansom, George, *A History of Japan to 1334*, (London: The Grosset Press, 1958), p. 77.

CHRONOLOGY FOR 1960

(October—December)

Oct 1 —The sixty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Chūgai Nippō, a non-sectarian religious daily newspaper was observed.

—The Saruboya Sangha, a society for the spread of the principles of non-violence, world peace, and the development of Japan-India friendship, was organized.

—Dr. Kenji Katō, a professor of Dōshisha University, was appointed president of Dōshisha Women's College in Kyōto.

Oct 4 —A three-day conference on The Church and the Laity was opened at the Japan Christian Academy in Ōmori, Tokyo with thirty Japanese and eleven delegates from South-East Asia participating.

Oct 11 —About a hundred representatives of the fourteen districts of the United Church of Christ in Japan attended a conference at Amagi Sansō with Dr. Hendrik Kraemer as the principal speaker.

—The Religious Peace Society sent a message to the United Nations

General Assembly urging the immediate suspension of the testing of nuclear weapons.

—The Religious Fellowship for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons (Gensuibaku Kinshi Shūkyō Konwa Kai) sent a letter to the Secretary General of the United Nations urging abolition of a capital fund for military purposes.

Oct 14 —The first convention of the Japanese Association for Social Psychology, meeting at Kwansei Gakuin University, conducted a symposium on new religions, delinquency and related subjects.

Oct 15 —The thirtieth annual convention of the Japan Association for Buddhist Studies (Nihon Bukkyō Gakkai) opened at the Buddhist University in Kyoto.

Oct 18 —The ninetieth birthday of Dr. Daisetz Teitarō Suzuki was celebrated with the publication of a memorial volume.

Oct 22 —Prime Minister Ikeda's public statement, in which he as-

CHRONOLOGY FOR 1960

serted that "there is a close connection between the Imperial Family and the sacred mirror enshrined at the Grand Shrine of Ise," made a deep impression on those who are opposing a special status for the Grand Shrine of Ise.

Oct 25 —Christian schools raised approximately \$5,500 to build a lodge for Dr. Albert Schweitzer's hospital in Africa.

Oct 30 —Some 4,000 Catholics of Tokyo participated in the annual Tokyo Archdiocesan procession of the Blessed Sacrament on the athletic field of Sophia University and at St. Ignatius Church.

—A party of ten American religious leaders and students led by Dr. Marcus Bach arrived for a month's tour of religious installations and conferences with religious leaders.

—The annual convention of the Japanese Social Studies Association (Nihon Shakai Gakkai) discussed among other subjects "Urban Opinion regarding Buddhist Temples."

Nov 1 —A Baptist Student Center in Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo was dedicated.

—A Christian (Protestant) Social Worker's Association was organized at the Ōsaka Christian Center.

Nov 3 —(Culture Day) Among those honored by the government with a Purple Ribbon were Dr. Ken Ishiwara of Aoyama Gakuin University, Dr. Genchi Katō, Shin-to scholar.

Nov 4 —Representatives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church met with representatives of the United Lutheran Church in the U. S. at Karuizawa. Missionary and Japanese representatives of other Lutheran churches in Japan contemplating merger were also present as observers.

—Reception at the Apostolic Inter-nuciature on the anniversary of the coronation of His Holiness Pope John XXIII.

Nov 10 — Approximately one hundred missionaries were on the list of 298 Americans honored at a ceremony held in connection with the centenary of the Japan-U. S. Treaty of Amity and Commerce.

—The office of the Tokyo Crusade, to be held May 6-June 4, 1961 and sponsored by World Vision, opened

in Shibuya.

Nov 11 —The National YMCA is raising \$1,700 to purchase a jeep to be used in Japanese medical missionary work in Indonesia.

Nov 12 —Christian (Protestant) Medical Association decided to send three missionaries, a doctor, his wife, and a nurse, to Nepal.

Nov 18 —Seventy-one administrators of Christian schools affiliated with the Education Association of Christian Schools met at Hakone to discuss problems related to higher salaries for teachers, the housing of students and teachers, and possible reorganization in order to establish some system of mutual help for the teachers.

—Shimogamo Shrine, one of the traditional big shrines in Kyoto, opened a golf course in its precincts in order to solve the shrine's financial problems. The parishioners protested strongly against this action and demanded the resignation of the chief priest, threatening to boycott all ceremonies in which he participates.

Nov 20 —Twenty-two out of twenty-five Christian candidates were successful in the general elec-

tion for the Lower House of the Diet. Eleven were members of the Socialist Party, eight of the Liberal Democratic Party, and two of the Democratic Socialist Party. Two Buddhists were also elected, both of the Liberal Democratic Party.

Nov 23 —A Baptist Student Center in Bunkyo-ku, Tokyo, was dedicated.

—Panel discussion on "How do you regard the Pure Land?" met at Tōyō University. Lecturers were Professor Yūki (Buddhist) Professor Koyama (Christian), and Professor Hori (philosopher of religion). About 200 people attended. —The *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters), a document highly regarded by Shintoists, was newly translated into English by 72-year-old Mr. S. Inouye. He took about ten years to complete the translation, which will be printed as a book of about 215 pages.

Nov 25 —An open lecture to explain the results of the investigation of the *Sokushinbutsu* (living Buddha mummy) at Mt. Yudono, Yamagata Prefecture, was held at Mainichi Hall, Tokyo, by scholars who conducted the investigation.

CHRONOLOGY FOR 1960

Among them were Professors Ando, Ogata, and Hori.

Nov 30 —Commissioner Norman Marshall, national commander of the Salvation Army in the U. S., arrived for a two-day visit.

Dec 3—4 The fourteenth annual convention of Shinto Shūkyō Gakkai (The Society for the Study of Shinto) was held at Kokugakuin University, Tokyo. Prince Mikasa read a lecture on the Study of Hebrew History.

Dec 12 —Zuiunken (a guest house maintained by Daitokuji temple in Kyoto, Rinzai sect of Zen Buddhism) was presented to the Japan-American Zen Association by the temple. The director of the As-

sociation is the well-known American Zen teacher, Mrs. Ruth Sasaki. This house is used as a dormitory by foreigners who want to practice Zen Buddhism. Six foreigners are living there and learning Zen under Mrs. Sasaki and other Zen masters.

Dec 17 —Dr. Daisetz T. Suzuki left Japan to visit India at the invitation of the Indian Government. He will be there about three weeks.

Dec 19 —Citizen's Christmas program under the auspices of the Tokyo YMCA was presented at Hibiya Public Hall in Tokyo.

Dec 23 —A Christian service was held at the Tomb of Unknown Soldiers at Chidorigafuchi Park in Tokyo.